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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
**INFANT BAPTISM:**  
IN TWO PARTS.

THE FIRST,  
BEING  
AN IMPARTIAL COLLECTION OF ALL PASSAGES  
in the Writers of the Four First Centuries,  
AS MAKE FOR OR AGAINST IT.

THE SECOND,  
CONTAINING  
SEVERAL THINGS TO ILLUSTRATE THE SAID HISTORY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,  
**A DEFENCE**  
OF  
*The History of Infant Baptism,*  
AGAINST THE REFLECTIONS OF MR. GALE AND OTHERS.

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By W. WALL,  
VICAR OF SHOREHAM, IN KENT.

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THE FOURTH EDITION;  
WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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VOL. III.

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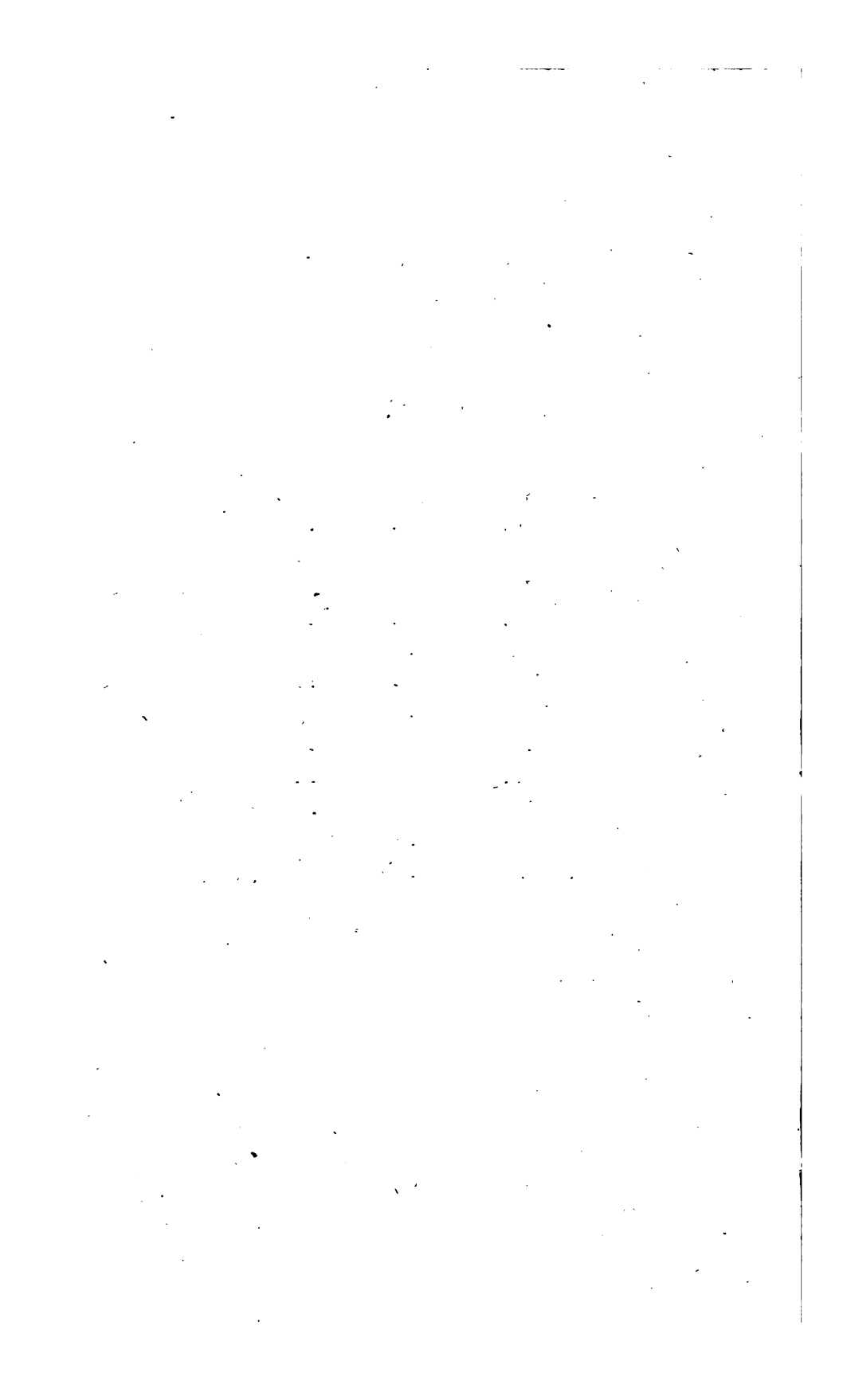
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2

DEFENCE  
OF  
*INFANT BAPTISM.*

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WHEN, after I had for some years made it my business to observe in my reading, and to collect such passages in the ancient Christian writers as did any way relate to the baptizing of infants, I published them, with some Notes of my own upon them, in the year 1705, being then sixty years old: I little thought that the doing of that would bring me under a necessity of writing any more books, which is a fatigue unfit to be borne by one of my age. The History itself, or Collection of Quotations, could not, I thought, admit of any exceptions, provided I recited them true; which I was careful to do; and for my Notes upon them, or any thing that related to the defence of the cause itself of infant baptism, I thought, that if there arose any necessity of vindicating that, some younger and abler men would undertake it.

The book having had more said and published, by some *for*, and by some *against* it, than I could have expected, these latter, who have wrote against it, and especially Mr. Gale's large book of *Reflections* (so he calls them: he might have entitled them *Reproaches*) have made it needful (in the opinion of some worthy men, to whom I owe a deference) for me, even in this my weak and superannuated state, to write something in vindication, partly of the cause, and partly of myself, some people having, it seems, raised a report or suspicion, as if I myself had altered my opinion about the duty, or the ancient practice of baptizing infants.

That honour which was publicly done to my book by those learned men of the lower house of Convocation, and by some others of great worth and station, as I ought ever humbly to acknowledge it to have been greater than I could deserve, and as it was in itself extraordinary, so it was a mean of provoking the pen of somebody (I could never learn who it was) presently to find faults in it. He, in a pamphlet called *An Account of the Proceedings in Convocation*, 1705, said, that I had therein reflected on a certain bishop (and he spoke as if it had been a *personal* reflection on that bishop) who, he said, was not a favourite of the lower house; but was, it seems, a favourite of the writer, and of the enemies of that house; but that being written not so much against me (who had only opposed a tenet of that bishop) as in anger and party-quarrel with them, and I having, in the Preface to the second edition, answered what I thought needful, I have no more to say of that adversary's objections.

What I would do now is partly to own what I myself, before I was attacked by antagonists, had, upon a longer consideration and review, thought to be blameable in it; and partly to answer the objections which some writers, and especially Mr. Gale, have made against it. I myself had reflected on some passages as blameable (and happy is that writer who, upon a sedate review of what he has said, has not occasion so to do); and particularly such, wherein, animadverting on some mistakes or misrepresentations of things made by some authors, I had used a strain of language more censorious or satirical than should have been used toward men, who had been otherwise of great merit and worth.

When any one of great learning, judgment, and piety, has, by the use of those good qualities, and by great pains and study, done considerable service to Religion and the Church of God (which is the case of the learned Grotius) such a man is, even in the mention of his faults (when the defence of any truth makes it necessary to mention them) and in the confutation of his mistakes, to be treated with respect. He, in his Comment on

Matt. xxviii. 19, set himself to establish a doctrine which is perfectly new, of the indifferency (*Libertas*, as he calls it) of baptizing, or not baptizing infants; and to that purpose, heaped together several reasons and authorities, which, as he uses them, do make for the Antipædobaptists side of the question, that they might balance those which he knew were for the other side. The producing any of these testimonies that were true, and could fairly be applied to the purpose for which he used them, is a thing which I of all men must not have blamed him for; for it was that which I pretended to do myself; but he brings some, which I think I have shewn to be not so; as not to mention his saying that St. Austin, before "he was heated with the Pelagian disputes, never wrote any thing of the condemnation of unbaptized infants, not even to those lesser pains in the world to come;" which I have shewn from St. Austin's own words to be otherwise (Part 1, chap. xv); nor his finding an argument against infant baptism in the Council of Neocæsarea (can. 6) which, when duly considered, has nothing *pro* or *contra* about it; nor his quoting some words of Balsamon's Comment on that canon, which might represent him as understanding it against infant baptism, and leaving out other words in the same paragraph, which would have plainly discovered the mistake of such a representation; nor his saying that, in the Greek Churches, many persons, "from the beginning to this day, have the custom of delaying the baptism of infants till they are able to make profession of their faith;" which account of the modern practice is certainly wrong, and of the ancient practice (which is the thing disputed) he brings no tolerable proofs; nor his saying, that "in the councils one shall find no earlier mention of Pædobaptism than in the Council of Carthage, anno 418;" whereas the Council under St. Cyprian, that speaks of it as absolutely necessary, was nigh 200 years before; he makes the most palpable mistake of all, in representing Gregory Nazianzen as speaking of infancy as a state incapable of baptism, in a sentence where Gregory only speaks of the mishap of those infants, who,



being διὰ νηπιότητα, 'by reason of their infancy,' incapable of procuring it to themselves, have no friends that will procure it for them; which children, as he judges, will by that means miss of Heaven; which is just as good arguing, as if from the history of the impotent man (John v) who for thirty-eight years had been unable himself to get into the pool time enough for cure, and had nobody to help him into it, one should conclude, that impotency is a reason why a man should not, or ought not to be cured.

This last mentioned perverting of the plain meaning of Gregory's words, to a directly contrary sense, I called *a foul imposture*. What I blame myself for is, that the consideration of the merit of so great a man, shewn in the other places of his comments, did not prevail with me to use expressions of more deference and a more modest censure, though, of the incongruity of the argument, my thoughts be as they were then.

I had occasion to recite a discourse of St. Chrysostom's, which I thought, and do think still, to be manifestly inconclusive; but expressed the censure of it in words, which shewed too plainly that I did not consider who he was, and who I am. These words were, upon the admonition of a superior (who had a large catalogue of such my faults presented to him, by some who, upon application, refused to let me see it) amended in the second edition.

Several other learned men (it would be too long to name all the cases) upon whose opinions or quotations my subject led me to make animadversions, did deserve to have been treated more respectfully.

The dispute that had of late been raised about the tenets of the Waldenses concerning infant baptism, led me into a short history of those people; which, I understand since, had been much more distinctly and skilfully handled by others. I did not sufficiently distinguish between the Waldenses, properly so called, and the Albigenes. The Petrobrusians, whom I mentioned (and I think they were so) as the first Antipædobaptists, were of the Albigenes. None of the Waldenses, I think, did deny infant baptism.

What I said of St. Ambrose, affirming that John the Baptist baptized infants, should have been expressed not so positively. The tenor of the quotation which I brought from his comment on Luke i, does, I think still, lead to that sense of his words; but it is better for a quoter, where the phrases have any ambiguity, to intimate what he takes to be the most obvious sense of them, and leave the more positive judgment of them to the reader. He that would pass a judgment, would do well to read all that he says there of the parallel between John and Elias.

These, and some more such reflections on some particular passages of my own book, I had made, before I was attacked by any adversary; and had drawn up a Breviary of them for my own use, and shewed it to some friends, and they to others. One of which having seen it, said, where I have heard of it again, that he had seen a *recantation* of my book under my own hand; and this, perhaps, might give occasion to a report, which some have heard, that my opinion concerning Pædobaptism was altered. I must not use again any such sharp language, as I am now blaming myself for (for this also is a man of worth); but I wish him a better use of his faculty of distinguishing between a *Review*, wherein any one acknowledges the faultiness of some particular expressions, as being too censorious, too positive, &c. and a *Recantation* of a book, a doctrine, or a history. St. Austin wrote his *Retractations* of the former sort, but not of the latter; neither did I.

Of those who have written against me, I do not take Mr. Bernard, of Holland, to be one. On the contrary, I account it an honour done to me, that he thought my book one of those that it was worth his while to give an abstract of, in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the year 1708; but yet (as I think it always happens between writers) he thinks it necessary to differ from me in some things, and to give his censure of some passages; but of none in my first part, as I remember, that are of moment, save that on reading the hard words, which I mentioned just now, on Grotius,

he says (p. 383) "Possibly Grotius might, without any design of imposture, cite that passage of Gregory Nazianzen, writing in too much haste or heedlessness: *avec trop de precipitation*;" — and I am content it should go so.

But he finds more faults in the second part. Upon my giving my opinion (chap. 10) that *that* one example of Gregory, the father of Gregory Nazianzen, letting his son, born to him after his own baptism, grow up unbaptized (which is the only instance that can be brought, and that not plainly to be proved) ought not to be accounted of any great weight, for reasons there given; he, at page 568, is of another opinion, "That my reasoning at that place is not solid, but warped. That this example shews, that at that time they did not take the baptizing of infants to be a law indispensable, since a priest was suffered to let his child go unbaptized." Now it seems to me no very solid conclusion, which he would draw from this one instance of a man, who is represented by the writers of his son's life (who are the only writers that mention him) to have been of little judgment or capacity, against all the examples and advices of the other ancient Christians, especially when of fourteen instances, which some Antipædobaptists had endeavoured to obtrude, of the children of Christians baptized at their adult age, I had, as he saw, there shewed the other thirteen to be mistakes in history; and indeed I question whether Mr. Bernard and others should not rather blame me for too much easiness in yielding this one, viz. That Gregory Nazianzen was born after the year 325, which was the year of his father's conversion from Heathenism to Christianity. It was only one sentence, and one word in that sentence (in the writing whereof there may possibly have been an error) that made me yield up all those many proofs and reasons in chronology to the contrary; for Suidas makes him to be born twenty-five years before, and so does Papebrochius, and so does Mr. Pagi, and Mr. Le Clerc; and Baronius himself sets his birth three years before. By any of these accounts, the wonder that he was

not baptized in infancy will cease. The word that puzzles all is, *θυσίων*, in that sentence, where the father says to the son, "You have not lived so many years in all, as are the years of my sacrificing;" by which must be meant (if that word be allowed) 'of my officiating as a Christian priest;' which will make the son (who is often spoken of by himself, by the writers of his life, and by others, as one that lived to a very great age) to have lived no longer than sixty-one or sixty-two; for he died in 389; and there must be some time supposed to have passed between his father's conversion, which was 325, and his ordination. Papebrochius thinks that, instead of *διηλθε θυσίων*, it was *διηλθ' ἐτησίων*; which will make the father say to the son, "You are not so old as I." — I should rather think (if we may venture to amend) that *θυσίων* has been written instead of *πολιών* (or for the verse's sake, *τῶν πολιών*); which will make him say, "You are not so old as my grey hairs are;" or, have not lived so long as I have been grey-headed. The objection against this amendment, which arises from the construction of the verse, is not considerable in this case; because Gregory, in that poem, does commonly put an *anapaestus* for the fourth foot of his Iambic: that is certainly the scope of the place; for the father there entreats the son's assistance in his weakness and extreme old age; and the father is, by the history, known to have been old before the son was born. I have since that time lighted one proof more, That the son must be considerably older than sixty-one when he died; for St. Hierom mentioning him *de Scriptoribus Eccl.* calls him one of his *Masters*, by whom he had in his younger years been instructed in the study of divinity; whereas by this account St. Hierom was within four years as old as he; for at 389 he was fifty-seven, as is easily computed by the history of his life.

Mr. Bernard here adds, That he is "convinced that infants are to be baptized;" but he does not think baptism to be of *absolute necessity*; or that it is this sacrament "which makes us true [or proper, *veritable*] Christians." This is wonderful cautious. As to the

necessity, we should, methinks, account all our Saviour's commands to be necessary; and I had quoted to him Calvin's acknowledgment: — "We do confess the use of baptism to be *necessary*: that it is not lawful to omit it by negligence or contempt. We do not count it free [or indifferent]; we do not only strictly oblige Christians to the use of it, but do affirm it to be the ordinary instrument of God, to wash and renew us, and to communicate to us salvation. This only we except, that God's hand is not so tied to the instrument, but that it can of itself effect our salvation; for where there is no possibility of baptism, God's promise alone is abundantly sufficient. *Antidot. ad Synod. Trident. sess. 7, de Baptismo.* Here it is owned to be necessary not only *necessitate præcepti*, but also *necessitate medi*, in God's ordinary way.

They will not have it said, That we are *made* Christians by it; yet Calvin here says, "It is the ordinary instrument of God to communicate to us salvation;" and it may, one would think, be as well owned to be the ordinary instrument of God to *make* us Christians; and that this is a fitter theological expression than that which I quoted of a new-fashioned English divine, "We are born members of the Christian church;" which is the direct contrary to the maxim of the ancient Christians: *Christiani non nascimur sed fimus.* Calvin says (Inst. lib. 4, c. 15) "The children of the faithful are not baptized for that reason, that they may then first be made children of God, &c.; but rather they are, therefore, received by that solemn sign into the church, because they did before belong to the body of Christ, by virtue of the promise." The Church of England, in the Catechism, makes the catechumen say, "In my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, a child of God," &c. A like dispute might be raised about the efficacy of sealing a deed of land. One may say 'It is the sealing that conveys the right to the land;' — another, 'It is not that, but the will of the donor.' Both will agree, that it is not the parchment, wax, &c. but the will of the donor solemnly signified by

those tokens. Bishop Stillingfleet does well observe, in the place I there quoted (*Unreasonableness of Separation*, part 3, sect. 36) "That the Church of England, by requiring sponsors, does not exclude any title to baptism, which the child has by the right of the parents;" but he shews at the same place, that if the parents be supposed to have no right, yet, upon the sponson of Godfathers, the church has a right to administer baptism to infants (which Mr. Bernard, as we shall see presently, owns to be the sense of other Protestant churches); and that those who think themselves bound to baptize children, *only* by virtue of their parents' right, will run into many perplexing scruples, of which Mr. Bernard will give me occasion to speak by and by.

As for the assurance which they express, That where baptism cannot be had, God will in mercy make up the defect, and take the sincere will of the parent for the deed,—no Protestant, that I know of, will dispute against them, but have hopes of the same; but this is by extraordinary mercy, and should have no effect to alter the offices of the church visible, which cannot properly (in an office for burial, or any other occasion) call a person one of her members till he has been regularly received as such, by the ordinary way of God's appointment.

At page 572, where I had said that all the ancient Christians (without the exception of one man) do understand that rule of our Saviour (John iii. 5) to mean baptism, and that I believed Calvin to be the first man that ever denied it so to be meant, Mr. Bernard, not willing to let Calvin's name pass without pleading something for him, makes this reflection:—"It must nevertheless be owned, that there are considerable difficulties in this explication of that passage given by the antients, and which our author takes to be the true one. It is hard for any one to think, that none of all this discourse of Jesus Christ to Nicodemus is to be understood of the [or proper, *veritable*] regeneration; which baptism cannot confer of itself, at least, unless one would say

That all infants that are baptized are actually regenerate."

Mr. Bernard seems here not to have a right conception of the meaning of these ancient Christians. They did not think that the outward part of baptism was all that Jesus Christ understood or meant by this discourse; but that he comprehended in these words, *born of water and of the spirit*, both the outward part, the water, &c. and also the inward part, that operation of the Holy Spirit, by which the baptized person is, by God's mercy and his gracious covenant, received into a new spiritual state, translated out of the state of nature (to which a curse is due) into the state of grace and mercy in Jesus Christ; or (as Calvin's words are) *renewed* and brought to a *state of salvation*. St. Austin, in the words which I cited (part 1, chap. xv) shews how he and the ancients understood the regeneration or new birth of an infant in baptism, as meant by our Saviour, in the plainest words possible. *Aqua exhibens forinsecus sacramentum gratiæ, et spiritus operans intrinsecus beneficium gratiæ, solvens vinculum culpæ, &c.* These taken together, he means, do regenerate the infant:—and is not this a happy and desirable regeneration for the infant? Is not the spiritual state of the child, by this merciful method of God's appointment, so altered for the better that he may well be said to be born anew, and entered into a new state? When he was by nature born in sin, in a state of spiritual pollution, subject to God's wrath, &c. are not the pardon of that sin or pollution, the release of the old bond, the admittance into a new covenant, the adoption into God's family, to be partaker of Christ's purchase, &c. sufficient to denominate a *veritable regeneration*?

But Mr. Bernard says, "Baptism cannot confer this of itself." Not the water of itself for certain; but the water, and the grace or mercy of God, applied to the person by the Holy Spirit (whose good offices, Christ has promised shall accompany his ordinances) can.

But then it will follow, he says, that "all baptized infants are actually regenerate."

In this sense of the word [*entered into a new spiritual state*, which is the old sense of it] they are; and they have consigned to them the promises of such assistances of God's Spirit as they shall from time to time be capable of; and in that state they continue for ever, if they themselves do not by actual wickedness break, forfeit, and disannul the gracious covenant into which they are then entered.

Mr. Bernard argues, that if our Saviour had meant no more than this, "That would have been to no purpose, which he speaks of the action of the Spirit upon the heart of those who are regenerated, and which he compares to the wind." &c.

That grace of the Spirit which we have mentioned, is given both in the case of the adult, and also of infants. There are some other graces of the same spirit, which are given peculiarly to the adult in their baptism; as a present converting the heart, enlightening the mind, comforting the soul, &c. When we maintain, that this discourse of our Saviour concerning baptism and the regeneration of the person, is applicable to infants, we do not think that it relates to them only. On the contrary, in this and most other texts, where our Saviour or the apostles do speak of baptism, though their words do comprehend and reach to the case of infants; yet they seem to have a more especial eye to the case of the adult persons of that time; inasmuch as (though both were to be done) the baptizing of the adult, and the converting and fitting them for it, was the first and chief thing which the apostles had at that time to do. Now our Saviour's general words [*born of water and of the Spirit*] do comprehend both these gracious effects of God's Spirit, adapted to the several subjects according to their respective capacities.

Whereas Mr. Bernard brings in, as an objection against this, those other words of our Saviour there: — *That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is spirit.* St. Austin's explication of that place which I recited, is natural and plain; as it is applied by him to infants (as well as adult per-



sons) baptized; for infants are born in a state of corruption and guilt (which is called, *born of the flesh*); but in baptism, *born again by the Spirit* to a state of grace, and favour, and blessing. Unless Mr. Bernard will deny that the Spirit of God, beside his office of converting the heart in the adult, does also in the case of baptized infants apply to them the pardon of original sin, the favour of being received into the Christian covenant, consigning to them such grace as shall assist them as they come to years, &c.; which I shewed, in this very chapter, on which we are treating, that the Antipædobaptists themselves do allow to be done in the case of all infants, baptized or not, which, dying in infancy, are saved; and no Christian, I think, will venture to say That any infant can go to Heaven without this application of the merits of Christ to him.

Therefore, that which Mr. Bernard says next [“The authority of the fathers of the church, is of no force against an explication founded upon what goes before, and what follows, in the context, and upon the rules of the best critics”] raises no objection against this explication of the fathers, which is agreeable to the words, both of the text and context. On the contrary, I am glad to hear him say this; for if no such privilege be to be allowed to the fathers, it will follow *a fortiori*, that much less is the authority of one man, Calvin (though he be for the general a good expositor) of force against an explication of this text, which is both natural in itself, and was ever accounted so by all Christians, without exception, for 14 or 1500 years, and is accounted so still by most Christians; and I think, the disdain with which all Christians do receive that explication of the Quakers, whereby they evade the force of such texts as concern the other sacrament, and do by the words *bread, wine, eating, drinking*, &c. force themselves to mean some other mystical thing, should make one have the less regard to Calvin’s way of interpreting this text, which is so very like it, who will have no material *water* to be meant in this text, as they no material *bread* in the other; for the apostle’s words, *The bread which we*

*break, is the communion of the body of Christ, &c.* do not more plainly express the external, as well as internal, part of that sacrament, than our Saviour's words, *born of water and of the Spirit*, do of this ; especially if they be compared with other like texts, as Tit. iii. 5, *The washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Spirit, &c.* To say that these do not mean baptism, is as great a paradox as to say that the other do not mean the Lord's Supper ; and at this rate of altering words, or expounding away the plain sense of them, any text of Scripture whatever may be eluded.

Mr. Bernard grants, however, that " our Saviour does in these words make an *allusion* to baptism ; to that baptism with *water* which had been in use among the Jews, and which John Baptist administered to the Jews themselves."

But, surely, our Saviour's affirming in so solemn a manner, *Verily, verily, &c.* that without it, none shall enter into the kingdom of God, should be taken for more than an *allusion*.

He adds, that " Jesus Christ did mean, nevertheless, the *proper* regeneration, which consists in the conversion of the heart."

The question here between him and us is, Whether no regeneration, which is not accompanied with present actual conversion of the heart, can be called *proper* regeneration? I think it may be solved thus:—As the command of circumcision, which was given in general (both to infants and to such adult persons as had not yet received it) carried with it an injunction of present actual circumcision of *the heart* to the adult receiver of it, but not to the infant receiver, and yet was *proper* circumcision to both of them,—so baptism carries along with it a present actual conversion of heart in the adult receiver, but not in the infant receiver ; and yet is *proper regeneration* to both of them. If Calvin and some late writers will give the name of *proper* or *veritable* only to that to which they (without the consent of antiquity or the greatest part of Christians) have appropriated the word, it is but a dispute of words.

At page 575, he asks "Whether I, who would have men have so great respect for the fathers, can shew any plain place of Scripture which may support that opinion concerning a *middle state* (in which unbaptized infants will be) which I had shewn to be held by some of them?"

Now I never pretended to that, nor to give any determination at all to that question; but shewed it to be a thing in which half the church was of one opinion (viz. the Greek Church) and half of the other. Only I gave a reason from what our Saviour says (Luke xii. 48) that if they do miss of Heaven, and be under some degree of condemnation, it is to be hoped that it will be (as St. Austin says) a very gentle one.

At page 580, Mr. Bernard is more angry with me. I had said (part 2, chap. vi) that some modern Calvinists would establish a rule (which I there shewed to be contrary to the practice of the Christians) in the baptizing of children, — that none are to be baptized but the children of parents actually godly and religious; and that Bishop Stillingfleet had fully shewn the absurdity and inconsistency of this opinion; and how they can never, in many cases that may be put, come to a resolution what children they may baptize, and what not; for which I quoted his *Unreasonableness of Separation*, part 3, sect. 36.

Mr. Bernard says "He will not stand to recite that part of the chapter, because it will be difficult to do it without angering [choking] me, who do set out as absurd the doctrine of some whom I call Calvinists; and that he would not be exposed to the temptation of returning injury for injury [or reproach]: that he believes I do not understand their tenet: that they do not refuse baptism to *all* the children, even of infidels. They give it to all such as the parents do abandon, or whose education they will leave to Christians: that in Holland they baptize infants found in the streets, though there may be among them some born of Jewish or Heathen parents."

If Mr. Bernard had read the discourse of Bishop Stillingfleet which I there cite, he would have seen that the bishop there speaks only of some Separatists in our nation who do make that one part of their quarrel with our church, — the giving baptism to the children of ungodly parents (which yet our church does not without sufficient sponsions); and that he does not meddle with the practice of any foreign churches. Neither did I mean any thing of what I said there in reference to them; but only to those who trouble our people here by their unchristian schisms and cavils; seeking about for any handle to draw the people from our communion, and using this for one; for which, as it seems, the foreign churches give them no occasion or encouragement; for if those churches which Mr. Bernard speaks of, do as he says, I do not see but that they do as the antients did, and as the Church of England does; for neither they nor we would baptize any children of infidels, but such as some Christian had the power or possession of, and did promise for their Christian education or instruction; so that things being rightly understood, here was no occasion of choking either him, or me, or the bishop, if living.

Page 585. Whereas I had noted (or rather had cited Mr. Russen as noting) the way of the English Antipædobaptists receiving the sacrament (which he affirms to be) sitting at a common table, and handing the elements one to another, as shewing, outwardly at least, less devotion than most other Christians shew, — Mr. Bernard says “It is certain this is the most ancient manner of receiving that sacrament; for it was so that Jesus Christ celebrated it with his apostles.” He should have taken notice, that it was not at a common table; but in an *ὑπερώον*, such as learned men have proved that the Jews and ancient Christians did set apart for holy uses. Nor did the apostles hand it to one another; but Christ gave it to them.

He says, “As this way of receiving is generally enough used in Holland, Mr. Wall certainly will not blame me for my reflection,” — I am easy, provided he

will not blame me for applying the words of Christ (John iii. 5) to baptism, which the Church of England (as well as the ancient church) does, in her office for baptism, so apply; nor for saying That an infant, when baptized, is *regenerate*; which she says in the same office; nor for my reflection on his saying "That it is not the sacrament of baptism which makes us Christians;" for she does, in the Catechism (besides what I cited before) say, "That we being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, are hereby [*by baptism*] made the children of grace;" and one of the Thirty-nine Articles of our church is, That "by it, as by an instrument, they that receive it rightly are grafted into the church;" and so say all the ancient Christians whom I cited, particularly St. Chrysostom: — Ὁυδεὶς δὲ υἱὸς Βαπτίσματος ἀν κληθεῖν χωρὶς.

He says farther, that "he does not know what the Churches of Holland have done to me; but it appears by some places of my book, that I am not very much their friend." This is said with respect to a passage a little before in the same chapter, viz. part 2, ch. viii.

And forasmuch as others, beside Mr. Bernard, have animadverted on that passage, I will set it down here at large, as it was in the first edition, which Mr. Bernard had (for in the second it is somewhat shortened) that I may know the sentiments of the rest of my friends how far I was blameable in it. I had spoke of the Menonites, or Minnists, in Holland, how apt they are to divide from one another; and then added,

"The worst is, that not only the Minnists, but the Holland people generally have the humour to run into divisions and schisms in religion upon almost any difference of opinion. There is not the like of them again in the world for this temper; whereas the great aim and interest of religion is unity and communion in the worship of God, notwithstanding different sentiments in points not fundamental; and schisms and parties are forbidden, as courses that will certainly ruin it. There is no sin that these people think to be a less sin than schism is. They are generally of a temper that is com-

mendable in many other qualities ; but for this matter they are the subject of the mockery of the Papists, and the grief and shame of the Protestants. How far the ministers there do their duty in shewing the people the sinfulness of schism, I known not. Some do think that a country so disposed as that, let what stranger will come thither, and bring with him any odd and singular opinion whatsoever, he shall find there a church perfectly fitted to his humour, has thereby a great advantage for alluring a concourse of men and promoting trade. If this be allowed, I am afraid it is to little purpose to preach there against the sin of schism ; and, perhaps, the ministers dare not do it."

In another chapter (chap. xi) speaking of the same thing, viz. of the temper of some Christians to set up a several church for every several opinion, I subjoined,

"This one may call the Holland way of Christianity. Not that the States of this country do, I suppose, approve of this as best, or would have it so ; but many people there fell into that way ; and they have been imitated by another nation, and, as some do now say, outdone in it. However that be, it is the most contrary to the nature and design of Christianity of any thing that could be devised ; for Christ, as he is but one head, never designed to have any more but one body," &c.

The late Archbishop of Canterbury told me, that a statesman of England had said to him, concerning these passages of mine, "How comes a minister to meddle with the affairs of our allies?" He did not tell me who it was ; and though I could guess, yet I will not. Meddling in state matters, I know, is dangerous ; but preaching against schism is preaching a Christian doctrine. Against such a manifest wickedness, and so condemned by God's word as divisions in religion are, I humbly hope a minister may preach or write ; and that, whether it be our own country or a neighbour nation in which they rise, especially if the example of that neighbour nation does, as I said, infect and spread among our people, and the state of religion among us

be the worse for our imitating them in matters of religion.

What Mr. Bernard remarks on these passages, is at his 592d page. To shew that they do denounce to the people the sinfulness of schism, he says, "That in the Liturgy of the Lord's Supper, which is in use in the Walloon Churches, and is the same with that of the French Church, they do excommunicate by name all that make sects, and break the unity of the church." I hope then, that the people will mind this; and that the ministers there will apply their warnings to those whom they think in the fault, that they do not live and die in a state of soul subject to excommunication.

If it will be any satisfaction to Mr. Bernard to have us be as free and ready to acknowledge our own blemishes, faults, and misfortunes, as we are to speak of those of other churches and nations, we must, I think, with sorrow and shame confess, that since this time of his and my writing, there have been published in England more rank principles of schism than ever were in Holland; and that not in any conventicle, but openly, avowedly, in the face of the world; and in such circumstances, as that our main hope left, under God, is, that the people themselves, even those that were otherwise inclined to separations, will see and consider the mischievous and destructive consequences of them (destructive not only of that general unity which should be in the universal church, or any national church; but even of the unity, society, order, government, or authority of any church or Christian society at all) and will start back from such an unskilful proposal as would dissipate the members, and dissolve the communion, not only of any established church, but of any congregation of ten or fewer Christians.

Upon the whole, I take Mr. Bernard's remarks on my book to be such as become a learned, and also a civil and friendly, writer. As for the difference of opinion concerning some points of less moment in religion, it will always happen; and as a part of my book was to shew that they ought not to break communion,

— so neither ought they to hinder friendship, especially when each does labour to defend and maintain the tenets and customs of that part of the church, or of that nation, whereof he is by Providence a member. A moderate degree of zeal in such a case is commendable, and a little excess of it pardonable; much more pardonable than in the case of those who spend their zeal in opposing and quarrelling with the usages, tenets, and ceremonies of their own church and nation.

In the year 1709 came out a pamphlet, with a mock-title: — *Mr. Wall's History of Infant Baptism improved*. The author, Mr. Emlin, thought that, from one paragraph in my Introduction (wherein I observed that the Jews, who gave baptism to proselytes and their infants, did not use it for themselves, nor for their own children) he might gain some advantage to that which is his, and some other Socinian's opinion, That Christians might do likewise, *i. e.* give baptism to such as are newly converted from Heathenism, and their infant children; but not use it themselves in a nation where Christianity has been for some time settled.

He observes in his first page, That many others before me have spoken of this use of baptism among the Jews; which observation renders the page before (*viz.* the title-page) very impertinent; for if the Jews custom was such, and many others before me have spoke of it, the pretended consequence (or *Improvement*, as he calls it) drawn from thence should be called an improvement of that custom, or of the books of those that spoke of it first, rather than of mine, which spoke of it last; so that he acts unkindly to say that my book gave him the *just occasion* he speaks of; and I had rather it should be taken from any body than from me, since I judge it such an improvement as all other errors are: a false and heretical consequence, pretended to be drawn from premises which are true.

His main and only argument is, that since our Saviour gave his commission to his apostles (of carrying baptism, together with the preaching of the gospel, among all nations) in such short words, they must do



with baptism as had been always done in their nation, except such circumstances wherein he has given any particular order for alteration; and, therefore, that as the Jews baptized any new-converted proselyte, and such children as he brought with him, but none of the posterity of them; and as the nation itself of the Jews was at first all baptized in Moses's time, men, women, and children, but none of their posterity afterward, — so the apostles and succeeding Christians should give the Christian baptism to all new converts, and to their infants; but in succeeding generations, a family or a nation wherein the Christian religion has been for some time owned and professed, need not baptize their children at all, neither in infancy nor afterward; but the Christian baptism may wholly cease in such a nation (as the Mosaical baptism did among the Jews till there was set up a new baptism in the name of Christ) except when any Heathen convert comes over to Christianity.

And he is positive that Christ in his gospel has not given any rule for alteration in this matter, or any command which can oblige the posterity of baptized parents to receive baptism, but says (p. 8) "They are accounted as already baptized, or cleansed, in their parents' baptism:" and in the next page he hugs that odd saying of Mr. Lock, "They are born members of the Christian Church;" which, whether it were meant to promote this tenet I know not.

He has brought nothing new to confirm this improvement unknown to Christians till vented by Socinus about 150 years ago, nor has said in effect any thing more than I in my *Introduction*, mentioned as pleaded by the Socinians; so I need only refer to what I briefly said there to obviate their plea.

I observed there, after having set forth the Jews' way of managing baptism, that "It was our Saviour who first ordered by himself and by his forerunner, that every particular person, Jew or Gentile, or of what parents soever born, must be born again of water," John iii. 3, 5. He says (p. 10) "These words of our Saviour can

only relate to such as were converted from infidelity; nor could Nicodemus be supposed to have understood them otherwise, since with the Jews only such were subjects of baptism."

Such a skill in expounding Scripture is to be pitied. Our Saviour's words are, *All that do enter into the kingdom of Heaven must be so born again*. Is this only those that are converted from infidelity?

But Nicodemus knew of no other that were to be baptized: then Mr. Emlin would have Nicodemus understand our Saviour's words thus: *All that you know are to be baptized, must be baptized*; whereas our Saviour informs Nicodemus of what he knew not before, *That all must be baptized*; and he adds (v. 7) *Ye must be born again*; which *ye*, being spoken to a Jew, includes those of that nation as well as the Heathens, who Nicodemus knew must be so born.

Our Saviour's next words (which I also cited a little after on the same occasion in the *Introduction*) make it yet plainer: *That which is born of the flesh* (which I there paraphrased, whether of a Jewish or Gentile, baptized or unbaptized parent) *is flesh*, and must be *born again*. Mr. Emlin takes no notice of this.

How he and the Socinians understand the point of original sin, or our natural generation in a corrupt state, I know not; but the Catholic Church has always understood this natural corruption to attend all that are born, not only of unbaptized or impious, but also of baptized and godly parents. I do (part 1, chap. 19) cite St. Austin urging the Pelagians with this absurdity, following from their doctrine: "You that do affirm that of parents cleansed from the stain of sin such children should be born as are without sin, how is it that you do not mind that at that rate you might say, that of Christian parents there should be born Christian children? And then why do you determine that they are to be baptized?" St. Austin thought this latter to be too absurd for a Pelagian or any other heretic to say; but he did not think of our Socinians.

Mr. Emlin (p. 4) that he may enforce the necessity

of Christians imitating the Jews in the point of baptism, says, "He can see no argument for infant baptism so forcible as this, taken from the practice of baptizing Jewish proselytes;" and adds "Nor does Mr. Wall seem to me to rely on any other without this." I guess he had wrote but this (for that his argument required); but seeing that would be too palpable, he altered it for *without this*. If a man use twenty arguments, none of the nineteen are without the twentieth.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th pages are spent in shewing the sufficiency of the proofs given by me and others of that custom of the Jews to baptize proselytes and their infants. "There being (he says) so many testimonies of the Jewish writers who affirm the fact, and the nature of the fact being to be open and visible, he takes the proof to be of very great force, and not to be slighted by such as cannot say half a quarter so much, indeed can say nothing at all, for proof of the negative. That the Jews saying to John the Baptist *Why dost thou baptize?* meaning thou who hast no authority, shews that they well understood the nature of baptism, but questioned his authority. That no writer denies this custom while so many affirm it; nor any of them who affirm it, do ever deny that it extends to infants. That all this taken together, ties the argument so hard that the Antipædobaptists cannot solve it. That Sir Norton Knatchbull's exception against it is of no force. That though the books that speak of it be written since Christ's time, yet inasmuch as they shew it to be the custom of their time, and speak of it as a thing that had always been the custom of their ancestors, he cannot think that, if it had not been really before Christ's time, it would ever have become a custom among the Jews afterward; for (says he) would they begin to proselyte persons to their religion by baptism, in imitation of Jesus of Nazareth, whom they held accursed? They would never so far own him as to bring in a new institution in conformity to his command," &c.

Now all this I would have him dispute with Mr. Gale; for though I think his reasons here are conclud-

ing, yet I must be no judge of my own arguments ; and besides, had rather no use at all should be made of them than that ill one which he makes. But I will say as St. Austin did of two opponents which attacked him on two contrary sides : " Let each of them yield to the other so much as there is of truth in that other's argument, and they will both come to confess the whole truth."

The use that he makes is, that these arguments from the Jewish baptism do as strongly conclude that none of the posterity of Christians are bound by Christ's commission to be baptized, as they do that new converts, and the infants which they bring with them, are to be baptized ; and so both Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists will, he says, be silenced at one blow ; and, as he expresses it a little after, must yield the cause to the Socinians : — a perfect Goliath this.

He sets forth our argument thus : Our Lord Jesus left his apostles to apply baptism to all the same subjects as the Jews were wont to do ; and therefore to infants as well as others : and his own thus : By the same reason, the Christian baptism was to have no other subjects than the Jewish baptism had, viz. none of the offspring of believers (born in the Church, as he calls it.)

Whereas he should have laid down his general position thus : Our Lord left his apostles to apply baptism as the Jews were wont to do, except where he gave his own particular directions ; but that he did in several things : he altered the form, making it to be *In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit* ; and the extent of it, ordering it to be the religion of all nations : and, among other things, that no person whatever should be exempted from the use of it, *ὅτι ἄνθρωπος*. Except any one have it, he cannot enter, &c. And whereas the Jews were apt to say within themselves, We have Abraham to our father ; and so Nicodemus might dream (as our author does) of a sufficient purity by births. He adds the next words, *That which is born of the flesh, is flesh ; i. e. is in a corrupt and evil state till it be born again ;* which declaration of our Saviour concerning the state of our first birth, makes

the expression here used by our author and some others, *Born in the Church*, to be an improper speech. The Church is a society of persons born again :—almost all divines express themselves so ; and particularly they that by the *kingdom of God* in this text do understand the Church, or dispensation of the Messiah, are by our Saviour's express words tied down to that meaning ; for, he says, they cannot enter into that without it. *Born within the pale of the Church* is an expression that has been used in a sense that may be allowed, viz. within the reach of the opportunities of receiving baptism and Christian instruction.

This determination of our Saviour alone, and especially if there be added to it the other reasons, as, that baptism is to us instead of circumcision, which was always given to the infants of natural Jews as well as of proselytes ; and, that the ancient Christians, who must know the apostles' custom, baptized their own children, &c. is a sufficient warrant and injunction to us to recede from the example of the Jews in this particular.

The proofs which Mr. Emlin (p. 8) produces from Scripture for this notion, are but abuses of the texts he quotes. *If the root be holy, so are the branches*, Rom. xi. 16. Whence he concludes, The children of a holy parent do not need any such engrafting as baptism. St. Paul spoke those words concerning the nation of the Jews in his time ; which he shewed to be not a people cast away of God (as some objected) for that some of them had received the faith and were baptized ; and concerning the rest who were for the present blinded, and as branches broken off, there was hope they would not abide still in unbelief, but would be grafted in again ; for which the gracious regard which God had promised he would always have to that nation for the sake of their fathers, would probably be effectual. To them the gospel and baptism into it were first tendered ; and the grace of God, which most of them had rejected hitherto, did yet wait for their return ; which St. Paul there speaks of as a thing to be expected, and on that account the Scripture gives them those favourable epi-

thets and characters: *the children of the promise; holy branches of the tree; beloved for their father's sake,* though at present shewing themselves enemies. The whole scope of the places shews that the apostle speaks these things concerning the aptitude they stood in to receive the benefits of the gospel; not that they had as yet received them, nor ever would, except they did repent and were baptized. He calls them holy, because there was ground of hope that they would come in and be baptized; not that they had already and by birth an holiness that would save them without baptism.

If Mr. Emlin will compare the state of a Christian man's child with this state of the Jews, there is, indeed, a like aptitude and likelihood of his being received into Christ's Church; but there is in it no argument against, but rather an argument for the baptizing of the child; for those Jews, of whom St. Paul does so prognosticate good things, were to be baptized before they obtained them.

On the other text (1 Cor. vii. 14) *Now are your children holy*; or, your children now are saints; or Christians (from whence most moderns conclude they are to be baptized; and Mr. Emlin, that they need not be baptized at all) I have spoken so largely, both in the book he writes against, and in another (where I shew it to be a common interpretation of the antients, that St. Paul meant by those words, that *they were then already baptized*, and calls them, as he does other Christians, saints) that I shall not repeat it here; only, whereas Mr. Emlin here makes one objection against that exposition, I shall give my answer to it. I (after the antients which I here cite) take St. Paul's discourse to run thus: Let not the Christian man or wife put away, or go from, his or her partner that is as yet an unbeliever (provided the unbelieving party be willing to cohabit) but stay, in hopes of converting (and, as he styles it, saving) him or her; for this effect does by the grace of God commonly follow, that the unbelieving party has been sanctified (*i. e.* converted, made a Christian, brought to baptism) by the believing party. Else (if the

unbelieving party were not ordinarily converted, or if he or she did go away with the children) the children would be unclean (brought up in Heathenism (which the Scripture commonly calls an *unclean* state) and without baptism (which the Scripture commonly calls a *sanctifying* of the person); but now (by the cohabitation of the parents, and the unbelieving party being converted) they are saints, *i. e.* made Christians by baptism.

Here Mr. Emlyn says "It is no good consequence which I make the apostle to draw; nor would it follow, that if the husband do not prevail upon his wife to be converted and baptized, the children would be left unbaptized, because, though only the father were a believer, the child might be brought to baptism."

It is true it might possibly be so; but it was much more probable if the other parent also were converted. Now the apostle does often advise some good thing to be done, in order to obtain a good effect, which will much more probably follow, if his advice be followed, than it will if it be not; though it might possibly have followed without it.

P. 9, He interprets a sentence of Tertullian one way which I had interpreted another way. There is no end of reciting his and mine. A reader of tolerable skill and exercise in reading a Latin author, will easily decide the matter.

Another argument against the baptizing the children of Christians, either infant or adult, he ventures to fetch from the practice of the primitive Christians, which surely will be found against him.

He observes, first, "That in the Acts of the Apostles we find not one instance of the baptizing any, either infants or adult, that had been born of Christian parents; though that history do run through a series of near thirty years; in which time many must have been born to them, and grown up to maturity."

I had (part 2, chap. x.) shewn how weak an argument this makes when it is urged for Antipædobaptism; and it is no less weak when urged for this Anti-

baptism. I observed there, that St. Luke's aim in that history is to give a summary account of the main and principal passages of the lives of some of the apostles, and of those passages especially in which they found the greatest opposition; which was in *converting* Heathens or Jews, and not in baptizing them (after they were converted) or their children, which was commonly left to deputies. Were it not for one word of St. James (Acts xxi. 21) which was spoken merely upon occasion, we should not know by the Acts that the Christian Jews at Jerusalem, of whom there were many thousands (ver. 20) did use to *circumcise* their children (which yet they generally did); for there is no instance of any particular man that did so; so little wonder is it, that there is no particular mention of their baptizing them; and yet (as I there observed) of the six baptisms, which are all that St. Paul is mentioned to be concerned in, three were of whole households: Acts xvii. 15, 33; and 1 Cor. i. 16. Such an one, and *all his*; by which expression *his children* are especially understood; but these, Mr. Emlin will say, ought to be baptized, because they had been born during the parents' infidelity. The question with him is, concerning children born afterwards. Now, inasmuch as these would be baptized in infancy, if at all, and St. Luke does not stand to rehearse the ordinary affairs of infants, their baptism cannot well be expected to be recited in the Acts, no more than the circumcising of the infants of the Jewish Christians; but that the Christians of Corinth had, in that interval of five years time, which had passed from St. Paul's planting a church there to the writing of his epistle from Ephesus to them, been used to baptize their children, appears by the foresaid text; at least by a probable and the ancient interpretation of it; for else, why does he call the children *saints*? *i. e.* Christians.

We may note by the way, the great power of prejudice. Mr. Emlin says (p. 10, and two or three times before) "That I have shewn well that infants, along with their proselyted parents, are to be entered into the



Christian society by baptism, but not shewn the same for their posterity." The Antipædobaptists think the proof clear for the posterity of Christians to be baptized, but not in infancy. The argument, from the silence of the *Acts of the Apostles*, presses hardest upon the Antipædobaptists; for the cases of adult persons are more apt to be mentioned in a history than of infants; and since no adult baptism of any descendant of Christian parents is recorded there (not even of Timothy, whose circumcision at his adult age is mentioned) it is a sign that they had been baptized before in their infancy.

Mr. Emlin ventures farther into ecclesiastical history; and demands, How early instances I, or any other, can give of the baptism of any person born of Christians? To which I answer, All the proof and evidence that I or any other have given of infant baptism in those ancient times, is of the baptism of children born of Christians; for wherever those antients do speak of infants baptized, they mean infants of Christians; Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, &c. for what they say of infants do mean these; for the case of baptizing the infants of any Heathen, happened either never at all, or so seldom, as not to be brought to account. It could never be but when a Christian happened to have the custody of a Heathen's child. At that time the Heathens might, if they pleased, take away from the Christians their children; but not the Christians from them. Mr. Emlin seems to be aware of this; and, therefore, strikes in here with the Antipædobaptists; and says That I have given no instances at all that are early enough. He makes some dispute about Tertullian; none against Irenæus or Origen, and expressly yields to St. Cyprian. I shall not stand (now in my present discourse with him) to vindicate the former evidences; but only note these few things.

Tertullian, who disliked the baptizing the children of Christians *in infancy*, unless in danger of death, is positive in this, That they should, however, be baptized when they come to understanding: — "Let them come to Christ when they are grown up; let them come when

they understand, — when they are instructed whither it is that they come; let them be *made Christians* when they can know Christ," &c. as I quoted him (and this by the way shews he did not count them Christians till baptized); and at another place which I cited from him, says "All believers from thenceforward [*i. e. from Christ's time*] were baptized;" and, therefore, the progeny of Christians as well as converted Heathens.

Justin Martyr, born in the apostles' time, having set forth the manner of the Christians receiving the holy communion, adds (*Apol. 2, prope finem*) "This eating and drinking is called *The Eucharist*; of which it is not lawful for any to partake, but one that believes the things taught by us to be true; and has been washed with that laver which is for the remission of sins and for regeneration." These were, many of them, the descendants of Christians, and must have been baptized; for else, Justin says, they could not receive the Eucharist; so that Mr. Emlin's question, at the end of his treatise, "Whether a person may communicate at the Lord's table who is born *in Christianity*" (so he words it: he should have said *in Christendom*) "of baptized parents, but has not himself been baptized in person?" (which question, he says, may be determined by what he has there said) has been from the beginning already determined against him; for Justin says, "None must partake but baptized persons." Not now to mention Mr. Whiston's Scripture; which both expressly, charges Christians to baptize their infants, — and, at another place, forbids any unbaptized person to communicate at the Lord's table, on pain of eternal damnation; but I have been too long in refuting so ill-grounded and exploded an error.

I had said in my Introduction, That all children admitted into covenant were wont to have some badge or sign of such admission. Some had circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. The female children of proselytes, baptism and sacrifice; the female children of natural Jews had at least a sacrifice offered for them. This last Mr. Emlin denies, saying "It is not true,"

and (being a great judge) gives his warrant, that though I have confidently affirmed it, I cannot prove it. I can prove that it is the interpretation of Scripture, and of the books of the Jewish writers, given by far better judges than himself. I had it from the learned Dr. Allix, who being kindly pleased to make some notes on what I had, in the Introduction, written concerning the Jewish customs, added this; and could, I make no doubt, have given proofs. However, I myself had in my book (part I, chap. v) quoted Origen affirming a sacrifice to be offered for every infant; and referring to that text (Levit. xii. 8) *A pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons; one for a sin-offering, the other for a burnt-offering*; where he adds, "For what sin is this one pigeon offered? Can the child that is new-born have committed any sin?" He answers, "It has even then sin," &c.; and proceeds to speak of the Christian baptism of infants as ordered by the apostles for that reason among others; and Mr. Emlin cannot escape, as the Antipædobaptists do, by denying the book, when they cannot reconcile their practice to it; for, besides that, sayings to this purpose do so often occur in his translated works, that they cannot be all thought to be interpolated: his Greek works have the like. One whereof I there recited out of the seventh book (*contra Cels.*) where he tells Celsus "The prophets [or books of the Jewish law] do order a sin-offering to be offered, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁρτί γεγεννημένων, ὡς ἡ καθαρῶν ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας; where ἁρτί γεγεννημένων is so exactly the same phrase with Rufinus's *nuper editus parvulus*; that there is little doubt but that it was the same word which is so translated in that *Homily on the Romans*; and when the blessed Virgin, at her purification, made this offering (Luke ii, 24) it is expressed (ver. 27) That Simeon came in when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law; from which (and, perhaps, other proofs) learned men do conceive the offering to have been for the child then born, or partly for the woman and partly for the child; and though this was a child that could need no sin-offering, yet it pleased God that in this,

and in circumcision and baptism, there should be in his case *fulfilled all the righteousness* of the law; and though this was the case of a male child, the law (Levit. xii) makes this obligation equal on the birth of a male or female child. Mr. Emlin, if he meet with a thing which he does not understand, should not presently conclude "It is not true," or that nobody can prove it. He says (page 12) that there is as plain testimony from St. Cyprian that it was "customary to give the Eucharist to infants" (and he speaks as one that means mere infants, or the youngest infants) "as there is for baptizing them;" and that he does not see "any better authority from antiquity for one than the other." Now, though I think this is not true, and that he cannot prove it, I will not be positive till I see whether he can or not. There is the more need he should, if he can; because two that have written since him, Mr. Gale and Mr. Whiston, have followed him in that affirmation; and what he has spoken doubtfully they have said positively. Since they all three have written against my book, they ought in all reason to have refuted the instances that I there (part 2, chap. ix) give of the great difference between the evidence from antiquity, which is brought for infants baptism, and which is brought for their receiving the other sacrament, before they had so securely affirmed it to be alike; and it happens well that I did there put in a caveat against allowing any evidence for the latter from Clement's *Constitutions*; and also that I shewed the mistake of those who have said (as Mr. Emlin does here) that St. Austin pretended that the latter (the doctrine of giving the communion to infants) is an apostolic tradition, as well as the former.

As to the consequence for baptizing Christians children, to enter them into covenant, taken from the circumcising of the children of the Jews, which was for the same purpose, Mr. Emlin allows that St. Paul does speak of baptism as being to Christians instead of circumcision; and that St. Paul's words (Col. ii. 11, 12) are so to be understood (being a fairer disputant than Mr. Gale, who will not own that sense of the words, though it be

very plain); but yet Mr. Emalin says, "It does not follow that the subjects of each must be the same;" and instances in the females. I answer, It does follow that they should be the same, except where the gospel-rules do direct an alteration; but St. Paul, discoursing of baptism (Gal. iii. 27, 28) says, That in respect of it there is neither Jew nor Greek, — there is neither male nor female, &c. i. e. there is no difference between them.

As for the rest of his remarks, That I have given too disrespectful a censure on Grotius, I have spoke my mind before; and do here add, That *that* is nothing to him, nor to his cause; that I have used expressions too sharp against the Socinians (which, I fancy, gave occasion to his writing against me) it is because I take that opinion to be, not like theirs who differ from us in smaller matters, but so directly contrary to an infinite number of plain declarations of Scripture concerning our blessed Saviour, that it deserves abhorrence, and has been in all ages abhorred by all Christians, not only Catholics, but Arians, and even Eunomians.

I shall not stand to answer any of his weak arguments for it, save that he takes more advantage than there is any good ground for, from the words of the Latin and English translations of Col. i. 15, where Christ is in those languages styled *Primogenitus omnis Creaturæ*: 'The first-born of every creature;' or, as he chuses to render it, "The first begotten of the creation." The sense of which words, and consequence from them, he slyly insinuates to be, that Christ has no other nature than a *created* one. The Greek words themselves do not give any such occasion; for *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* was always understood by the Greeks (who best knew the emphasis of their own language) even by the Arians, to signify, not *first-born of the creatures*, so as to include him among them; but *Genitus ante omnem Creaturam*: 'Begotten before all the creation;' and it was this very phrase of the apostle (Col. i. 15) which they in almost all their creeds paraphrased by those words, "Begotten before all worlds." Eusebius,

at the Council of Nice, recites the Creed of his church, which gives first the apostle's own words, *πρωτότοκον πατρὸς κριστός*; and immediately subjoins, by way of explanation, *πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον*, 'begotten of God the Father before all worlds' [or ages]; and so it is in the Constantinopolitan Creed, the Arian Creed at Antioch, and in Arius's own Creed; which is much more unexceptionable, than to say "First-born of every creature."

Mr. Emlin seems, at the end of his book, to be solicitous where, or in what church, he and his partners in this opinion shall be admitted to receive the communion, without believing the divinity of Christ, and without being baptized. He says (page 16) That I, no question, take care "to have no Socinian communicants in my parish." I am glad he has that opinion of me; and (page 18) he is angry with me for saying, as I do at the end of chap. ix, of the second part, "Among all the absurdities that ever were held, none ever maintained that any person should partake of the communion before he was baptized." I quoted just now Justin Martyr saying the same.

If the Church of England will not, he should not, methinks, despair of finding some that will receive them; for we have of late in England great store of churches; and in the shops of religion great store of new suits, that a man must have very ill luck whom none of them will fit. As the course of trade for religions now goes, if he cannot fit himself in England, I question whether he can be fitted in Holland with any church, — as the word *church* is taken for a society or body, consisting of pastors and people; but there is lately set up in England another notion, fitter for this purpose than any that has yet been broached in Holland itself, That the Church of Christ is not a society, or a body that requires any union, or coherence, or government. It is only *the number*, small or great, *dispersed* or *united*, of persons that adhere to King Jesus; and the less regard they have to any spiritual governors, ministers, rule or order; and the more close

and *immediate* this adhesion is to Christ, the better ; so that our author, if he can find no minister of Christ that will give him the communion, nor any one that will receive it with him, may take it himself alone, by virtue of that *close* and immediate dependance upon Christ.

This answers the wishes of all heterodox and self-opinionated men by one position ; and as the flatterers of the Persian King, though they could not find any law for this or that lustful course which he followed, yet found one that was worth them all, — that a King of Persia might do what he pleased ; so, though there be no encouragement in Scripture for Socinianism, omission of baptism, &c. this lays open a gap for all at once, that every man may be of what religion he pleases, and interpret Scripture as he thinks fit, without any controul from any church, or any governors, any articles, canons, or censures thereof ; or from the received doctrines and interpretation of any ancient Christians or fathers, those *weak men in several ages*.

This position, I confess, seems a desperate one for a man to venture his soul upon ; because, though according to it Christ has not any kingdom, nor does interpose in this world, yet the kingdom of the other world to which we must come, is all his ; and he has declared that we shall be judged there at the last day by the word which he has given us here ; and a great part of that word is, that we should in this world *hear the church*, and obey them that have by his appointment the rule over us.

Mr. Whiston was not the next that wrote against my book. Mr. Gale wrote before him ; but because I have a mind to dispatch at once what I have to answer to all such of my antagonists as have written in the way of civility, candour, modesty, and argument, before I enter on answering Mr. Gale's Reflections, which are made up of declamation, insulting reproaches, and untruths, I shall next take a short view of what Mr. Whiston has observed concerning it ; and it need be but a short one ; for it is little that he has said. The account that he has

given of the reasons of the change of his opinion about infant baptism seems to have been written in as much haste as the change itself was made. I am concerned only in that part of it, where he pretends to shew that, in the passages of the fathers which I produced concerning the baptism of infants, the word *infants* may be understood of children old enough to have been catechized, and capable of baptism upon their own profession and faith of the Christian religion.

First, As to the passage of Irenæus (lib, 2, c. 39) where *infants* are reckoned among those of the several ages [infants and little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons] which are by Christ *regenerated* unto God, he had before (page 7) granted it to be undeniable that the word *regeneration* is generally, if not constantly, used with relation to baptismal regeneration; and it is indeed, as he says, a thing *undeniable* by any modest arguer; neither does he, like Mr. Gale, fly to that pitiful subterfuge of denying the passage to be genuine. He grants the place to speak of the baptism of infants; — but says,

“Irenæus does so soon after this passage expressly reckon thirty years of age, the beginning of *youth*, and forty of *elder age*, and by consequence must allow *infancy* to reach to ten, that this testimony only shews that such children as he calls *infants* were then commonly, by ten years old, regenerated in baptism.”

Now, supposing that, in Irenæus's use of those words, a person were continued to be called *an infant* till he was ten, and a *little one* till twenty, and a *child* till thirty, and a *youth* till forty (as he does indeed toward the end of that chapter make the interval between youth and elder age to be ten; but to call them *infants* till ten, and *parvulos* till twenty, and *pueros* till thirty, is something more contrary to the common sense of words than the other; and I think to discourse that matter with Mr. Gale, the first inventor of that *salvo*; but supposing it were so, the word *infant* does still include all the time from birth to ten years; and there is no reason to take it here for *only* those of ten years, with an exclusion of



mere infants, especially when Irenæus's argument at that place runs upon a supposal of taking in every period of man's age, and every step of that period. He says "Christ sanctified every age by the likeness it has to him; for he came to *save* all persons by himself. All, I say, who by him are *regenerated* unto God, — infants, and little ones, and children; therefore, he *went through* the several ages; for infants being made an infant, — sanctifying infants, to little ones he was made a little one, — sanctifying those of that age," &c.

Now, does Mr. Whiston think that Irenæus meant that Christ, by going through the several steps of human life, did *sanctify* infants only in the last step of their infancy? He uses the terms of Christ's *going through, saving* and *sanctifying* the ages and the persons, and of the persons being by him *regenerated*, in the same latitude and extent: — every age by the likeness it has to the several ages which he, for our sakes, took upon him to *go through*. Was Christ made an infant only in that sense of the word, whereby it signifies one of ten years? Was he not also made an infant in the common acceptation of it, so as to go through all the steps of infancy? Did he come to *save* and *sanctify* only the tenth year of infancy, that *that* only should be by him regenerated unto God?

Whereas Mr. Whiston here grants, that this testimony of Irenæus shews that "children were then commonly, by ten years old, regenerated by baptism;" but thinks that this was upon their own profession and faith; and to that purpose extols the care of Christian parents in those days to give their children early instruction, so that great part of the children might be baptized at that age upon their own faith. The experience of the whole world shews the contrary of this, in respect to the generality, or any considerable number of children; for though children do in these late ages arrive to a maturity of sense and capacities rather sooner than they did in former ages, yet there are none, or no considerable number of children, that would be fit at that age to receive adult baptism.

We find it to be so in the examining, preparing, and catechizing of children, in order to their being confirmed by the bishop: that office is, God be thanked, used with more care and frequency than formerly; but the bishops find a necessity of giving directions that none be admitted under eleven (as some do order, or twelve or thirteen as others) except some particular children of extraordinary forwardness; and (as I shewed in the Introduction) the rules of the Jews, in receiving the children of any proselyte to baptism was, if they were males, and under age of thirteen years and a day, — or females, under twelve years and a day, to baptize them as infants; because such an one was not yet *the son of Assent, i. e.* not capable to give assent for himself; and indeed we find few that are capable to be confirmed so soon as eleven or twelve. They may be able to repeat the words of a Catechism, or summary of the faith, and to make the answers to questions put to them with a ready and pregnant forwardness; and fond parents, that are conceited of their children's capacities, are sometimes importunate, and proud of the credit, to have them admitted to the ordinance; but they really do their children a prejudice, in making them receive it so young, when it has little effect on their consciences, and thereby disabling them from ever receiving it afterward; which might else have been done to great spiritual benefit, being received with a due degree of serious consideration. A child of that age may have memory and words ready; but seldom can have due sense and conscience of the weight and concern of the thing to his soul.

It must be noted, that Irenæus does not here speak of the case of some particular child, who by some extraordinary forwardness was baptized in infancy; but mentioning infants generally and indefinitely, speaks of them as ordinarily regenerated or baptized; so that Mr. Whiston is forced by the tenor of the argument to grant, that at that time children were commonly by ten years old baptized; which tenor of the argument Mr. Gale not perceiving, brings in at his page 503, a story of

“some that he has known admitted to baptism at about fourteen; and heard of some much younger;” which is impertinent and to no purpose here, to explain the sense of Irenæus, who speaks of the general case of infants baptized; but I hope to make it appear, in my answer to Mr. Gale, that we have no reason to suppose that Irenæus used the word in any other sense than all people do.

Mr. Gale had invented this notion of infant boys of ten years, to evade this place in Irenæus. He was not so absurd as to pretend that the sayings of Tertullian, Origen, &c. could be so evaded, because they (beside the word *infants*) do express such circumstances as do denote mere infants in the common sense of the word; but Mr. Whiston having this hint given, fell so in love with it as to venture (against common sense) to apply it to the passages of other fathers which I had cited, who do as plainly describe the infants they speak of to be children newly born, or not yet come to the use of reason, as it is possible in words to describe them.

The quotations out of Tertullian, he recites just as I had done, at page 36, 37, 38. Now, the infants that Tertullian speaks of (whom there was then a custom to baptize, but he would have had it omitted, except in danger of death) were infants in our sense of the word; for he speaks of them as such as, when they were brought to baptism,” did not understand whither it was that they came, — did not know Christ, whose guiltless age had no need (as he thought) of the forgiveness of sins.”

But the foulest work which he makes with my quotations, is at his pages 38 and 39, with those out of Origen. He pretends that Origen’s words, as well as Irenæus’s, are capable of being taken for infants of ten years; — but see how he defends this pretence.

I had cited the Hom. viii. in Levit. c. 12 : — of that he takes a part out of my translation; but leaves out the other part, where Origen cites, as a reason for baptizing infants, the Septuagint (Job xiv. 4, 5) *None is clean from pollution, though his life be but of the length of one day*; which shews what sort of infants

he meant; but was not for Mr. Whiston's turn to set down.

He deals yet worse with the passage cited from the *Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, lib. 5.* He recites the latter part of this out of my translation, but leaves out the beginning; which (to shew Mr. Whiston's readers how he deals with them and with me) I must here recite: —

“In the law it is commanded that a sacrifice be offered for every child that is born, — *A pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons*; of which *one for a sin-offering, the other for a burnt-offering*; for what sin is this one pigeon offered? Could the child new-born [*nuper editus parvulus*] have committed any sin?” He answers, “It has even then sin,” &c. After which follows, that which Mr. Whiston sets down, of the apostle's ordering baptism even to infants, as knowing that there is in all persons the natural pollution of sin, which must be done away by water and the Spirit.

I would willingly (if the reader will consent to it) impute this way of quoting, not to insincerity, but to the haste in which Mr. Whiston wrote this little piece. If he will have patience to read it over again, he will see that the infants Origen speaks of are infants new-born.

I gave an instance before, in answering Mr. Emlin, that in other books of Origen the Greek words which are there preserved, have the same argument and the same phrase [*ἀπὸ γεγεννημένοι*] which St. Hierom and Rufinus do here translate, *Nuper editi parvuli*, concerning new-born infants not being clean from sin; and indeed Mr. Whiston does not insist on the exception, that these books are but translations by the two said men. He gives his judgment concerning them, that though they are of less authority than those that remain in Greek, yet, he thinks, “we may allow them in the main to be genuine” (which is fairer than Mr. Gale, who shuffles off the argument, as if so many several places in several books, by several translators could all be interpolated); but he adds, That this account of Origen, where he speaks of such infants baptized as did not want it for

the pardon of "actual sins done at years of discretion," is near to his own account, or his sense of the word. If so, if a new-born infant, such as is spoken of in Levit. xii, be near in the same case as one that is to be baptized upon his own faith; or if a youth that is not of years of discretion to have actual sin imputed to him, be of discretion to be baptized upon his own repentance, Mr. Whiston need never fear the reconciling of any thing to any thing.

Therefore, in the next words, being conscious, I suppose, that this would appear inconsistent, he adds further, "Though, if it implies more (*i. e.* if Origen must be understood of mere infants) it will only shew how early this corruption of Christian baptism began to creep into the Church of Alexandria, as well as we have seen [from Tertullian, I suppose, he means] it began to creep into that of Africa, and no more."

He here yields up the times of Tertullian and Cyprian for the Churches of Africa; and in a manner yields the time of Origen for the Church of Alexandria; and at page 42, having owned infant baptism used at Alexandria in the time of Didymus, he adds, "Possibly, even in the days of Origen, as we have already observed."

It were better for the Antipædobaptists at once to yield, that it began in the apostles' time; and help all by styling it, as Mr. Whiston here does, *a corruption creeping in*. This would save a great deal of vain struggle; and it seems probable that they must at last come to this. Mr. Whiston (who is much more conversant in the books of those times than any of them) gives up the times of Tertullian and Origen (within 100 years of the apostles (as using this *corrupt practice* (as he calls it) of baptizing mere, or new-born infants; and cannot deny that Irenæus himself (born in, or very near, the apostles' times) speaks of *infants* baptized, saving himself only upon Mr. Gale's device of another sense of the word *infant*, as used by Irenæus; which I think by and by to evince to Mr. Gale, or at least to any impartial reader, to be a groundless notion.

Yet this same Mr. Whiston, who not long ago, in his *Essay on the Revelations*, had spoken of the times, not only of St. Cyprian, but 200 years lower down, as continuing in Christian purity, and being above the date of Antichristian corruptions, so that what doctrines and practices of the church we find to have been then generally received, we may depend upon as sound (among which he reckons by name the *divinity of Christ* and the *baptism of infants*) having since fallen first from the belief of one of these, and now of the other, tells us (page 45) that the baptism of infants [meaning infants in the common sense of the word] is one of those practices, doctrines, and customs "which appear to have begun in the west, near Rome, and particularly in Africa; and are to be looked upon as a part of the Roman, western, or antichristian corruptions; and to be accordingly rejected by every Christian."

As, on one side, by yielding the times of Tertullian and Cyprian (for those he means by the evidence of the African Churches corruption) and in a manner giving up Origen and the Church of Alexandria (as I shewed before) he leaves but a very small space after the apostles for the Antipædobaptists to pretend any claim to; so, on the other side, by calling these doctrines and practices of the church (and some other from which he has revolted) Romish and Antichristian Corruptions, and yet owning them to have taken place so early, he gives a scandalous encouragement to the Deists and enemies of Christianity. By confessing it to have been generally corrupted in its doctrines so far up, he gives them a handle to say It was never otherwise. These do apparently hug and value him and other heterodox men, for such sayings as these. Whatever serves to weaken the credit or the authority of Christ's church, helps forward the designs which they are now carrying on.

But to make Origen an evidence only for the Church of Alexandria, is a great oversight in the history of his life. He was indeed born there; and if his father held the same doctrine (as we have not the least reason to

question) baptized there, eighty-five years after the apostles; but of the time of his mature age and writing, the least part was spent there. He conversed at times in almost all the noted churches in the world; and his testimony is an evidence for them all.

The censure of the Churches of Africa, as holding anti-christian corruptions for their being in the west, and near Rome, is yet more absurd and unhistorical. It is a known thing, and observed by almost every body, that no church in the world did more vigorously oppose the first encroachments of the bishops of Rome than that of Carthage, and the rest of Africa; but the times we are now upon were long before those encroachments and corruptions. Several of the bishops of Rome, about the time of St. Cyprian, patiently and humbly suffered death for their religion, as he himself also did; and as to the points he here calls *Corruptions*, the Roman, and African, and all other churches in the world, were then unanimous.

As for the following quotations alleged by me, which he says, at page 41, he will *run over*, and shew, that even the fourth century was not unanimous for baptizing infants, in the common sense of the word, he runs so hastily and heedlessly, that it is not worth the while to follow him.

The Council of Neo-Cæsarea affords, he says, no argument for infant baptism. All that I pretended was, That it affords none for or against it; and to shew that Grotius perverted the true sense and meaning of the words of it when he pretended an argument from them against it. Mr. Whiston only recites the words, — takes no notice of what I had said to clear the sense of them; and though he does not offer to affirm, yet he poorly insinuates to the ignorant reader that conclusion from them against infant baptism, which ought to be taken for a mistaken one, till somebody has pretended to defend it.

He observes, That I own that Gregory Nazianzen seems not to have been baptized in infancy, though his father was a bishop; which is very carelessly expressed.

That he was not baptized in infancy, does not *seem*, but is certain, neither in our sense of the word nor in his. Whether his father was a Christian (for there is no pretence that he was a bishop) at the time of his birth, is a greater question than I at first thought. The reasons that make it doubtful I gave before to Mr. Bernard. It is however but a single man's fact, differing from a custom and practice of the church, which is fully and plainly proved for those times.

This catching at twigs one would bear with in Mr. Whiston; but as for that passage in this Gregory's sermon, where he sets the several degrees of punishment to those that have died unbaptized, which he makes to be thus [some wholly scorned it] — whose punishment will be the greatest; some miss of it by procrastination, — who deserve not quite so bad; some “have it not in their power to receive it (*ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐν δυνάμει τῷ δεῖξασθαι*) either because of their infancy perhaps, or by reason of some accident utterly involuntary;” which last sort will neither be glorified nor punished, as being without the seal, but not through their own fault [or wickedness]; for this passage, I say, after Grotius had picked out those words by themselves [“have it not in their power to receive it, because of their infancy”] and had set them among the arguments against infant baptism, — and after that I had, by reciting the whole place, plainly shewn that dealing of Grotius to be either foul and imposturous, or at least a gross mistake or heedlessness, either in taking the quotation at second-hand, or in not reading the whole place, or, as Mr. Bernard guesses, writing in too much haste. After all this, for Mr. Whiston to put this again upon his reader (whom he must think a very ignorant one) as if it were meant by St. Gregory against infant baptism, when he plainly uses it as a reason for the parents to give it, lest the child lose all reward, and to set it down just as Grotius had done [“yet he speaks of some that have it not in their power (or are not capable) to receive baptism on account of their infancy”]; thus to quote a scrap of a sentence to a purpose directly contrary to the import



that it carries in the sentence, and which it had been plainly shewn to carry, is, I cannot help saying, in him (whatever it might be in Grotius) a prevarication which I thought no writer pretending to sincerity would have been guilty of.

And whereas Gregory at one place delivers, as his particular opinion, that if a child be in no danger of death, it may be fit to defer his baptism till three years; but otherwise to give it presently. He having observed that three years is the time of catechizing in the constitutions, ridiculously infers, "So that we have here a witness against infant baptism in the modern sense, excepting the case of danger of death." What? does he think that the three years of catechizing was the three first years of the child's life? or would Gregory's child of three years be baptized by adult baptism?

As for the other passages of the fourth century which I had quoted, of which he, instead of taking them in order, picks out here and there one, where he thinks the words may possibly be wrested to signify, not infants properly, but children fit to go to school, or to be catechized; I think the reading of the passages, and comparing what I have said with what he has said, will satisfy any one that thinks this labour worth his while, of the impropriety of the explication he puts upon them, and therefore shall not repeat them. The sense and meaning of the word *infant* was (for certain in that age, whatever may be questioned of the former) limited and known by common use, as will appear to those that read the passages.

There was indeed a custom of calling converts newly baptized (though they were middle-aged, or old) *Infants*, by way of allusion; and a sermon made to a congregation of such was called *Sermo ad Infantes*; but it is always evident at first sight when the word is taken properly, and when in this borrowed sense which it obtained only in allusion to those infants, properly speaking, who had ever been the subject of baptism. This I had noted in the chapter concerning Paulinus, part 1, chap. xviii; and I believe it is to that note that I owe the greatest

trouble that we have had from Mr. Gale, and all that we have had from Mr. Whiston; for Mr. Gale took occasion to evade the force of Irenæus's testimony by this distinction (which I had noted might take place in those verses of Paulinus); and Mr. Whiston confesses that he took the hint from Mr. Gale, and he has ventured to apply it in the case of other passages where the sense shews that it can have no place. The passage wherein he thought this application to be of most use is that taken out of that spurious book called *Clement's Constitutions*, which he values above all the genuine pieces of the ancient Christian writers, or any book of Scripture. There happens to be in that book no other mention of infant baptism than in those few words: "Baptize your infants and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God; for he says *Suffer little children to come to me,*" &c.

This which I and all others had thrust down among the evidences out of spurious books, of little credit and value, he at p. 45 calls "The only original law for infant baptism;" and finding that he could interpret this his own way, because there is in so few words no circumstance ascertaining their age (though he should have noted that it first says "Baptize your infants," and then "Bring them up in the nurture," &c.) he has endeavoured to sacrifice all the genuine testimonies of antiquity to his own improbable interpretation of a passage in a book, set out about the latter end of the fourth century by somebody, who forged the names of the apostles to it, containing, indeed, some good rules and sayings, and exhortations, such as might probably be remembered by tradition to have been delivered by some apostle or apostolical man; but some other things utterly inconsistent with history and with Scripture; and has the vanity to think that the Church of Christ will (now after it has been rejected as spurious for 1300 years) take it on his recommendation as one, nay, as the chief, of their canonical books: and, as to baptism, says, p. 46 (what one cannot read without pity) "All modern ways of it

(he means both of Pædobaptists, and, as he had said in the same paragraph, Antipædobaptists) are very imperfect, and ought to be reduced to the original standard in the *Constitutions* immediately." He is in great haste, and would have us change our religion, Church, and Canon of Scripture, as fast as he has done.

At the time of his writing this little piece, 1712, he was a convert to Antipædobaptism, but of a very small standing, and yet was even then become as great a proficient in his zeal against the doctrine of infant baptism as those of Munster, so as to impute it to the Devil; for at p. 44 he concludes thus: "In short this corrupt practice came in, &c. till at last, &c. it came to be applied to babes of three months, or three days, &c. so successful was the Devil and his agents in corrupting," &c. Does he consider whom he gives up (I mean of such as he himself owns to have practised infant baptism, not to say any thing now of the apostles, but St. Cyprian, St. Austin, &c. and the church of their times) as agents for the Devil?

Those that I have hitherto been speaking to, have concerned themselves with my book but briefly and occasionally; but Mr. Gale, in 1711, wrote professedly against it; and though the greatest part of his book be either of personal matters, some about my life, temper, actions, &c. not relating to the cause, and some about my way of writing when it is too long, or too short, or too censorious, or catching at here and there a passage of my book, which he thought might be represented so as to put me out of favour with the Antipædobaptists (as are his two first chapters, which he calls *my character*) or else on another subject, viz. not the age or time of receiving baptism, but the way of administering it, with which I had meddled very little (as are his three next) yet he gave to the whole the title of *Reflections on my book*.

And though he go no farther in any methodical way of answering than to the *Introduction* and five first chapters of my book (not nigh one tenth part of it)

which answer begins at his ninth chapter (and he has but thirteen in all) yet it has gone among the men of his party as an answer to it.

He deals not much with argument (which the others have chiefly aimed at) but writes in a way of declaiming and flourish, and much addicted to reproaching, taking a pride in shewing how easily and how naturally he can express a contempt of his adversary, or of any reason or argument. He writes in a style, indeed, sufficiently fluent, and with a good stock of philological learning, but does not keep very close to the rules of candour, modesty, or truth, but delights in vaunting, insulting, slighting, and laying odious and false imputations not on me only, but on the clergy of England in general, and indeed our whole church, as that was a time in which some people found their advantage by raising such slanders.

His talent in rhetoric (which is not inconsiderable) he uses to false colouring and *gaining his point* (as he calls it) by wrested representations of things and passages.

Of his impertinences (to name but one sort of them) an unparalleled instance is his picking up stories of things said or done by me before he was born, and naming the people (whose names one would never have thought to have seen in print); nothing, thanks be to God, of which one need be ashamed; but it is a great shame to see such impertinent stuff brought into a controversy of religion. Of his untruths, I would beforehand instance in one flagrant and manifest one (which, as I shall shew, he has affirmed above twenty times over) his saying that I have in my book yielded and owned that there is no Scripture proof for infant baptism, though near half his book be spent in refuting (as well as he can) those proofs which I brought from Scripture. The province which I had undertaken was the history of the times near following; but I did not altogether omit those of Scripture.

If I had followed my own inclinations, or the advice of some of my friends, in drawing up an answer to him,

I should have made it shorter by half than it is, and taken notice only of those few reflections of his that seemed to be of moment to the main point. The tyranny of custom obliges me not only to take more pains than I needed, by the dry work of following him, *κατὰ πόδας*, and answering to many things that are impertinent to the cause, or of small weight in it, but also when I have done it, to make an excuse to any judicious reader why I did it.

Such an one will pardon me, if he consider that some captious and litigious men would otherwise have been apt to say that I had passed over the most material objections.

To spare the time of those who are choice of it (though I had not liberty to spare my own) I must advertise them that there is hardly any thing in Mr. Gale's first six chapters, or in my answer to them, that is very material to the point of infant baptism; and it will be no great loss to step over them.

A vein of boasting and magnifying his own performance runs through all his book; with that he continues his work, and with that he ends; and, contrary to Horace's rule (who says of a vaunting prefacer, *Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?*) with that he begins.

For in an advertisement prefixed to his book, having taken notice that several great and worthy men (whom he names too) had given a favourable character of my book, he says that he published these his *Reflections* "To inform the public, &c. — and to let those learned gentlemen know that they had been too hasty in their judgments; and that this history is not by far what they take it to be." Is not this youth a likely man, think you, to be able to inform their judgments of any considerable thing? I set down this as a specimen of the arrogance you are to expect all through the book.

In the same advertisement, he says that these *Reflections* (though published in 1711) were written in 1705 and 1706; suppose that: but when he saw, in 1707, my

second edition, with some alterations, should he not have left out his needless remarks on those places of my first edition which I myself had altered in the second?

He there adds, That he had hoped that a more learned advocate would have been engaged. If Mr. Stennet were once desired or pitched on to answer my book, and it was devolved upon this man, it was an unhappy change both for the Antipædobaptists and for me; for if he had answered at all he would have said more to the purpose, would have used a more rational, modest, and candid way of seeking the truth, and I should have had far more Christian treatment. His note, that I did not reply to *Mr. Stennet's Answer to Mr. R.* is frivolous, since I was not at all concerned to do it, nor ever thought of doing it. He mistakes the matter when he says I was convinced by him of my mistake in charging him with a misrepresentation of the opinion of the followers of Gundulphus. We read Dr. Alix's book (out of which the quotation was taken) together; the words were as I had said; all that I was convinced of was, that I should have spoken more respectfully of Mr. Stennet (which I did in the Contents of the second edition) for that treatment his candour and ingenuous temper did deserve. The other inadvertencies of mine, which he says Mr. Stennet rectified, were only some accounts of the present state, opinions, and usages of the English Antipædobaptists, which must be had from themselves, and I desired him to give me. He gave me a truer and more skilful account of them than I could have from the Antipædobaptists my neighbours, which I accordingly rectified in my second edition.

Of his book the first pages (to p. 8) are a piece of a sermon on charity, moderation, candour, &c. which might pass well enough in the reading, provided one were not at the same time to read the rest of the book. But he that goes forward to read the next page, and so along, can hardly forbear calling to mind the amazement expressed by some people coming out of a church where they had heard a good discourse, enforcing a certain virtue, from a man who, it seems, was notoriously

guilty of the contrary vice. How can this man speak these things and do as he does! for his first reflection on my book is at p. 8, where he reaches at a passage near the end thereof (such a methodical answerer I have met with) and having first observed that a great many do traduce the Antipædobaptists as dangerous enemies to the state, he adds, concerning me, that he has reason to fear that I am of the same mind too, though I endeavour to conceal it. What is his reason for this suspicion of me? By my inserting, among other things, the scandalous story of Hicks, which I myself can scarce forbear confessing to be false.

I had said at the place he refers to "The present state of the English Antipædobaptists is this: they that are now, are as commendable as any other sort of men, for a sober and grave, quiet and peaceable way of living; they profess obedience to magistrates, and they will commonly express a dislike and abhorrence of those plunderings and other violences committed by some of their party, as well as the rest of the army of that usurper aforesaid.

I knew that there stood as an objection against this in the face of the world, the depositions against many of their party, and the confessions of some of them, as having been concerned in the Monmouth conspiracy. It was impossible (if one would speak to the purpose) not to take notice of this; if it had been some obscure story, he might have blamed me for mentioning it at all; but it was largely set forth in one of the most noted histories that was then (or is now) extant in the English tongue. I did, however, put in so many *ifs* (as whether West swore true concerning what Roe told him? or, if so, whether Hicks did ever say what Roe said he did concerning the body of this people? or, if so, whether Hicks himself did not give a reproachful account of them in his mentioning 20,000 of them inclined to such a wickedness?) that I did in the main express my hopes that most of them were of another sentiment, which Mr. Gale expresses by this unhandsome turn, "He can scarce forbear confessing it to be false." I observed, moreover,

that but two men of the 20,000 appeared to have been guilty; and that they were of the forwardest to make a free confession; and, besides, in my second edition (which Mr. Gale must needs have seen before he printed) having in the meanwhile understood from Mr. Stenmet that King Charles himself had, upon a hearing of Hicks's case in council, discharged him, I put in that also.

Yet still here he fears I am of the same mind as others that have an ill opinion of them. Who can help that? I know no cure for a man that will think I take him for a villain, when I declare the contrary; there must be an ill conscience or ill-nature in such a fear.

That which I guess is, that he does not think this of me, but would so represent me to the Antipædobaptists as their enemy, to hinder them from regarding what I have written; so much difference there is between the temper of this man and of Mr. Stenmet, who owned to me that I had treated the Antipædobaptists with more civility than most had done; and I remember my answer was, That it was, indeed, my aim so to do.

His next reflection in the same page is a great deal worse; not an ill-natured insinuation, but a downright untruth. I said in the place he refers to only this, "That the way of setting up different churches for different opinions in lesser matters (which way many people in Holland fell into, and have been imitated in another nation; and, as some say, outdone in it) is the most contrary to the nature and design of Christianity of any thing that could be devised." He alters the thing spoken of, and says, I assert "That the forbearance the states of Holland allows, &c. is the most contrary," &c. It is one thing to say Schism is a great sin; another, to determine that forbearing to punish it is always so. This is the man that had just ended his sermon about candour, truth, charity, &c.

I must not continue the course I have taken with these two first instances of his way of quoting, to set down my own words and then his. But the reader (if he thinks his book or mine worth the reading) must



make the comparison by looking in each himself. He will find many of a like nature with these two, which do not differ from Danvers's way. The very next is such, where he says "I cite in one paragraph Dr. Bentley three times for setting forth the mischief of a toleration in any state." If the reader turn to the place, he will see this to be false as to the two first (which are only historical of Antipædobaptism then beginning to spread, 1645) and frivolous as to the third; for what hurt is there in saying That in times of a general toleration (he leaves out of my words *general*) abundances of sects are apt to arise; especially when I add (which he likewise leaves out) "How necessary soever it might be in other respects." Here he talks as if I justified the French King's persecutions.

. P. 9. His next quarrel with me comes to this in effect: that I lived where I do before the Toleration, and in King Charles's time. Who knows not that in those times the law was (and the courts and magistrates enforced it) that we should present, i. e. give an account to the Church Court of those that came not to Church and communion! This I or the Churchwardens did, not only in respect to the Antipædobaptists or other dividers, but to such of our own Church as were gross absenters. This he calls taking so much care to perform his part with those who were endeavouring to plunder and root out the Antipædobaptists in his neighbourhood. And at other places he names a man or a woman or two of Shoreham; who, about forty years ago, continuing obstinate in their schism and contempt of all the authority of the Church, were excommunicated, as if that was an ill thing; it looks as if he had at the time of his writing some prognostic of what doctrines in derogation of all Church authority and discipline of human excommunications would come quickly to be preached in some of our pulpits; or as if he and some such late preachers had conferred notes; and it shows what pitiful stories he has been picking up: — Such and such a person were, forty years ago, excommunicated: they were, as far as I can remember the cases, such as sufficiently

deserved it; and one of them (who is yet living, and, I believe, is he that furnisheth him with stories) upon other accounts beside his schism. Here he mightily commends the present toleration, but considers not that it was never intended to embolden such as he to fly in the face of the established Church, as he does presently at p. 10, where he has done with me for a while, and falls to railing at the clergy in general, or many of them, in such reproachful words as I shall not repeat.

P. 10. "You may expect a complete answer to Mr. Wall by a very learned hand."—I do earnestly intreat and beseech the body of the Antipædobaptists to take care that he be also a man of modesty and truth.

P. 14. "That he has not suffered a single instance to escape his diligence."—By the very words of mine that he cites, it appears that I was not guilty of so much arrogance.

P. 15. Here Mr. Gale is got out of his way, and into a talk of infant baptism, which he seems not to have thought of before since the title-page. He blames me for not producing all the passages that make against it; and instances in a passage of Justin Martyr which yet I did produce; but he complains that I said It did not make directly for it nor against it. If he think otherwise, there he has it. I said the Martyr had no occasion there to speak of the case of infants; he thinks he had; and gives for a reason this far-fetched one: That if Christians had then baptized infants, an apologist would have mentioned that to the Emperor, in order to obviate a slander which then lay on them, as if they did use to murder and eat children. Now this is an argument for the apologists to have used, which I confess I should never have thought of; and I cannot wonder that they did not, seeing there are so many more forcible ones which they did constantly use; as, namely, the severe law of God and of our Lord Christ against all murder and bloodshed whatsoever; insomuch as many of them doubted whether it were lawful to kill an enemy in war; and they must be far from eating human blood that held it unlawful to eat any blood at all. These arguments

they do produce in their apologies, which are much more obvious and to the purpose than that which Mr. Gale would furnish them with.

P. 16—18. He complains that I have been disingenuous in my citing a passage in St. Cyprian. Let the reader see if he can find where the fault is: I cannot. I owned it did not name "infants particularly; and, therefore, I would but just mention it" (having given before plain and direct passages out of St. Cyprian, to which he thinks fit to say nothing); I owned also that St. Cyprian does, at another place, speak of communicating children of four or five years old. I said it was plain that he here understands John (iii. 5) to speak of baptism; and so it is by comparing the heads or contents with the chapter itself.

P. 19, 20, Are the seeking a quarrel where no handle was given. I cite Clement's *Constitutions*: he cries out they are spurious, and proves it; and though I had put them no otherwise than in a chapter of spurious pieces by themselves, declared in the title to be spurious, and had there proved the spuriousness of them before him; yet, because I mentioned these spurious pieces at all, he calls it *acting with the same artifice*; and observe his words (p. 19) "They, like all the other boasted clear proofs, happen to be spurious." Has not this man a good forehead?

P. 20—23. Having for a little while confined himself to cite passages picked up here and there out of my book, where he could not impute (that is, he should not have imputed) to me more than my words would bear, he runs out into a freer way of giving the character of my temper in writing, without referring to any particular place; and tells the men of his opinion that I "industriously take all occasions to blacken them;" and many more such malicious and false expressions he uses, for which I think to call him to account by and by. He sets himself here to give a character of a slanderous writer, and (whether he had a glass before him I know not) he describes it very lively; and then

says "That if he can form any judgment, I have too near approached this method." Then he says, his reader will be surprized at so severe a charge from him, "who has always so much talked of charity." If he have any reader that formerly had any opinion of his charity, or justice, or truth either, this surprize must indeed be expected. How does he take it off? He assures the reader once again in words, that he is a man whom "you must not upbraid with violating even the strictest rules of charity."

P. 23—27. He takes upon him to censure my way of writing, that I often run out into too large digressions. What is that to him, or to the cause? That may be an unskilfulness in writing; but his business was to prove what he had said last, "that I industriously took all occasions to blacken the Antipædobaptists." He says, "I thought by those digressions to serve ostentation, to display my reading, to shew abilities," and such prattle. That, Sir, is the temper of boys and young men: people under the infirmities of age are seldom inclined to that vanity. If I had aimed at that, I'll tell you, Mr. Gale, what I would have done. I would have put at the end of my book a catalogue of the authors cited, &c.; and if I had mentioned any of the school-books, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Terence, &c. I would set down pompously the editions of them; and if I had cited such a book, for example, as Dr. Grabe's *Irenæus*, it should have been set down four times over. Once under *I*, twice under *G*, once under *F*; and so Le Clerc's *Patres Apostolic*. nine or ten times.

P. 27. What he says here of my reflecting on Mr. Stennet, looks as if he could not apprehend the sense of what he reads. I did not speak of his citing so largely Mr. Bossuet (now Bishop of Meaux) as a digression from the subject; but as giving too much regard to what a Papist says, in a cause wherein they do generally speak for their interest against their conscience; and for what I say of *the vein of fine language*, Mr. Gale, is the first reader that could, and will be the last that can mistake my words, so far as to say I im-

pute to Mr. Stennet the vanity of shewing that. All that I said was, That harangue of Mr. Bossuet had a vein of fine language; for which perhaps he might prize it, and count it worth a recital.

P. 28 *ad* 41. Here he brings a long charge against me for my style: that it has been too censorious and sharp against some learned and great men that are Pædobaptists; concerning which, having already said what I thought needful, and taken to myself the blame due to me from them, I need add here no more than to ask him again, What is this to him or to the cause? If I, being but a mean person, have been too presuming and arrogant toward greater men, forgetting the respect due to their character, I have been served just in my kind; for I also have lived to have a youth, without any respect to my age, or to the office that I bear in the church (though unworthy) or to the church in which it is born, or to the opinion of great men therein (who have taken my mean endeavours in good part) treat me very dirtily; but is this the best service he can do to his cause? If he has been employed by the Antipædobaptists in the defence of their opinions, may they not say to him, "You defend Grotius, Mr. Le Clerc, Chrysostom, and this or that father or bishop, who are no friends of ours; but when will you remember us?" Among the poets he quotes to no purpose, he should have thought of that scrap of Martial, *De tribus Capellis*.

He talks of another man that is to answer my book. I hope that other will keep close to the main subject of it; for this man has meddled with every thing else, and has often reached for cavils where no occasion was given. I mentioned the name of Archbishop Tillotson twice in my book. In one of them it is written Archbishop, as it should be; in the other, Bishop Tillotson. This our author calls *quarrelling* with that prelate; and sets it so in his Table of Contents. Does not any man, in hasty writing or speaking, say often Bishop Usher, Bishop Laud, &c. without any intention of disrespect? Are these things matter for a book?

Concerning some of the others he makes my words worse than they are. I said that Gregory Nazianzen probably gave his opinion of deferring a child's baptism, if he were well, till three years, in some compliance with his father's practice. He makes me represent the son "persuading men against his conscience," &c.; he makes me call St. Chrysostom a *Lead-headed Logician*. I only said of one argument of his, that it was (though *golden-mouthed oratory*) but *lead-headed logic*. There is a great difference between these two sayings; and even that was altered in the second edition, of which it was unfair in Mr. Gale to take no notice. He says,

Page 39, "That I make the Gregorys singular in the practice of deferring baptism for some time; and yet, a few lines after, do confess it was very common at that time." It is hard to find a reader's eyes, and as hard to keep this man from cavilling at what he sees to be otherwise than he represents. I said, the Gregorys were singular in practising or advising the delay of a child's baptism till two or three years, as by principle. Of the many that I speak of afterward, my words are, "That they delayed and put it off something longer than ordinary, not out of principle, that so they ought to do, but out of negligence and a procrastination which they themselves owned to be blameable." Is there any contradiction in this? And yet he brings the same again, in page 41.

P. 38. He would have it to be a contradiction, that I say (part 1, chap. xi) that Grotius went about to disprove infant baptism from a passage in Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 40) and yet do (part 2, chap. ii) repeat his words, that all that he had brought "is of no force to prove that infant baptism should be denied, but only to shew the liberty, antiquity, and difference of the custom." Now both of these are consistent enough; for Grotius does, as is common, produce the arguments or quotations on both sides (those that make *for* and those that make *against* it) by themselves; and,

among the latter, he has brought a scrap of that 40th Oration of Gregory (which, in reality, is all strong and positive *for* infant baptism) among the arguments *against* it; and though he, having pretended to weigh the arguments on both sides, does at last split the matter in dispute, judging it to be indifferent, yet still the arguments on one side, taken by themselves, are brought to *disprove* it, as the others are to *prove* it; and my blame of his conduct is, that he set this quotation on one side, which should have stood on the other; and Mr. Gale's excuse that he makes for him (p. 40) makes the matter worse; for he says "Gregory might intend such children missed of baptism through their parents' fault;" and so, I say, he certainly did. Does this excuse Grotius for putting such a quotation among those that make against infant baptism? or, Does it not rather aggravate his mistake?

For the criticism he talks of, and for which he tells you he looked into his Dictionary, p. 41 ["have it not in their power to receive it"] as I said, or ["are not in a capacity to receive it"] as he says, It is not worth the discussing; because Mr. Gale himself has not the confidence (though he have a good one) to say that Gregory means any other incapacity than this, That they in their infancy cannot procure themselves to be baptized, and must be without baptism unless their parents help them to it; and so it is not their own but their parents' fault if they miss of it; and, therefore, he thinks their punishment will be only *pœna damni*.

P. 42. The case is the same as to the contradiction, that he would here find in what I say of the words of the sixth canon of the Council of Neocæsarea; in which Grotius, the first of all men, found an argument against infant baptism. He curtails my words to make them appear contradictory. I said The words of the canon are, as to the main of the determination, applicable to either of the senses there recited, viz. (as I there explain it) The bishops, whether they had held *for* or *against* infant baptism, would have determined that the woman might be baptized; but whereas, from

a phrase in the last clause, Grotius would draw an argument that they held it unlawful to baptize an infant, as having no choice of will. I shewed the propriety of the phrase to be such as gives no ground to that interpretation of it. Now this man, leaving out the distinction I plainly expressed ("of the main of the determination, and of the propriety of phrase in the last clause") represents me, both here and over again afterward; as contradicting myself; and he speaks of my "fastening upon Grotius' foul dealing in the matter," which I did not do in this matter of his criticism; but in his misrepresenting the words of Balsamon, of which Mr. Gale speaks next, p. 43.

P. 43. I did indeed say "I would set down Balsamon's words at large, that the reader might see if he can acquit that great man, viz. Grotius, of the crime of prevarication;" and I do still question whether he can; for when Balsamon says That the child in the womb cannot be baptized, nor accounted as baptized, by his mother's baptism, for this reason among others: "Because at baptism every one's own profession [or promise] is necessary, and an embryo [or child unborn] cannot make that necessary profession;" and he adds, in almost the next words, "An embryo cannot have sponsors; but infants [meaning when they are born into the world] do promise, by their sponsors, and being baptized," &c.; for Grotius to set down among his arguments against infant baptism the former part of his paragraph, and omit the latter, whether it were prevarication, or a very great oversight in not reading the whole place, let the reader judge; whichsoever it was, it was not so bold as Mr. Gale's attempt on the same place is (nor did Grotius, or any man of liberal education, ever venture on such a one); for he, when he comes here (p. 44) to account for these latter words, puts this shameless affront upon his reader to say, "Balsamon, or perhaps somebody else, has subjoined some words, which allow children may be brought to baptism by sponsors." This outdoes Danvers; for he, when he rejected, as spurious, a quotation which



he did not like; rejected it all: all the book, chapter, epistle, &c. ; but here is a defender of a cause in a new-fashioned way: he will take one part of a paragraph (which by itself may be drawn to his opinion) to be the author's own; and if the other part explain the author's meaning, will throw it away.

As for the shuffle that he makes about the word *Kararisthai*, he must look into his Dictionary again; for when, speaking of the baptizing of infants, an author says "That the infants (*Kararisthai*) by their sponsors," it can signify nothing but *do promise*, or *do consent*; and *συγκατατίθειν* does commonly signify *consent*, as 2 Cor. vi. 10; and *Origen. Comm. in Joann.* p. 115 (in a discourse, of which Mr. Gale, p. 377, quotes a part) *συγκατατίθειν διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς*, 'giving consent by their silence.'

But Zonaras, he thinks still, was an Antipædobaptist. Zonaras writes just as Balsamon does in that former part (as to the niceties Mr. Gale employs about the translation of their words, it is true, what he guesses, that I had only the Latin of their comments before me: he had the Greek; but I find the sense to be so perfectly the same as to any thing that may affect our subject, that I will not enter into any such trifling dispute; — let the reader take his translation or mine, I am content); their words are on the same canon, they were of the same church, and wrote in the same age, the 12th century; so that when they do both speak of the promise or profession made by every one at his baptism; and one of them explains what is meant by that, viz. The profession which infants make by their sponsors, we cannot doubt but that is the meaning of the other also; especially when we know that that church at that time did, without any controul, hold infant baptism to be necessary. If Balsamon or Zonaras (who had, as Mr. Gale observes, each of them great places and offices) had been of another opinion, it had not been safe for them to publish it. Constantinople was not as Holland and England are now, where any

one may preach or write any new or heterodox thing that comes in their mind.

P. 45. To what I urge (that Pelagius and St. Austin, who must have heard of this council, do declare that they never read or heard of any Christians that were against infant baptism.) Mr. Gale, according to a particular way that he has of giving a man the lie in other words, when there is no occasion for it, says, "I should not have said as I did, but which had been truer," &c.

Pelagius's words, in the place I refer to, are "Men slander me as if I denied the sacrament of baptism to infants, or did promise, &c.; which is a thing that I never heard, no, not even any wicked heretic say; for who is there so ignorant of that which is read in the Gospel," &c.; and for St. Austin's words, Mr. Gale owns that they are, that he never heard of any that denied that baptism was given for remission of sins; and if he look into the place again, he will find that St. Austin is there speaking of the case of infants; and that the remission of sins he speaks of is the remission of *original sin*; for so are the words: — "When I was at Carthage, I heard a cursory discourse of some people, who said that infants are not baptized for that reason, that they may receive remission of sins; but that, &c. I was startled at the novelty," &c. This is in the same paragraph where the words are, "I do not remember that I ever heard any other thing from any Christians, &c. I do not remember that I ever read otherwise in any writer," &c.; and the very title of the book is *Of the Guilt and Forgiveness of Sins, and Baptism of Infants*. Would any man, pretending to decency, except Mr. Gale, give a man the lie, for saying that these men do declare that they never read or heard of any Christians that denied that infants were to be baptized?

P. 46. From a saying of Bilius, which I produce he thinks I am hard put to it, when I profess myself to "believe that *that* was not his settled opinion." — If I had been put to it, had it not been easy for me to

omit the mention of it? Did ever any one in this controversy produce this place before me? Mr. Gale I believe cannot tell; but some other Antipædobaptists do know, that in this, and several other instances, I have out of authors, ancient and modern, brought some passages, making against infant baptism, which had not been observed before by any managers of that cause; and that this, which I met with by chance in Bilius, is one of them. It had been safe and easy to have left it out; but I think still, what I said there to be true, That it is not likely that this was Bilius's settled opinion, he being an abbot of the Church of Rome. Let those that have leisure search his works, if they please. I count it not worth so much pains.

The other two instances that he gives there need no other answer, but that any one may read his book and mine.

P. 46, 47. He says I insinuate "that they countenance at least, and have among them some who deny the human nature of our Lord Christ, &c. He protests, he don't know so much as a single man, &c.; and that "such an one can be no Christian."—What I said was, "Some of them (but I think it is but few in England) do hold the error which has of old been attributed to the Antipædobaptists of Germany, and is said to be still held by the Minnists in Holland, That Christ took not flesh of the Virgin Mary," &c.

I do there urge against this opinion this consequence, "That then Christ is not properly man, as not being made of a woman, nor of the seed of David." How far the Minnists, or others of that opinion, do own this consequence, I know not. As for the opinion itself, I said, there were but few in England of it; and I believe he will not maintain the contrary, but that there are, or lately have been, some; and how far he does by these words deny the Dutch Antipædobaptists to be Christians, let him consider; and let the reader judge what occasion there is for that charge of spitefulness which he brings against me here, or for that which he

begins his next chapter, saying "What can be more unfair than to represent and judge of a whole body of men by the odd singular opinions of a few men in it?" It is unfair to do so; and it is not true to say I did so. I said there were *but few* among them of this opinion.

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## CHAPTER II.

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P. 50, 51. HERE, having vented his spleen upon Bishop Bramhall (as if it were a heresy to assert the real presence, or as if the Confession of Faith of 100 churches of the Antipædobaptists did not own and declare that worthy receivers do *really and indeed* receive and feed upon Christ crucified) and upon Mr. Dodwell and Bishop Usher, he enlarges his foam against the present clergy, which they that love to hear such language, may read if they please.

P. 52. He owns there are, perhaps, among the Antipædobaptists *some ill-meaning people*; and, I think, he has convinced every body that there is one at least.

P. 53. Speaking of my mischievous insinuations, he instances in my *silly excuse* for Mr. Baxter. If the reader turn to it (it is in part 2, chap. ix, of my book) he will see no harm or mischief meant to any body in it; nor in what I say of the Antipædobaptists *maintaining their poor liberally* (which is part 2, chap. viii.); for which I say there, "They are particularly commended." He does not let his reader know where these sayings of mine are; but, to prove the mischief of them, recites a saying of mine, above 300 pages from either of them, where I am speaking of Separaters in general; and applies it to the Antipædobaptists, of whom I had no thought at that place.

Page 55, He uses more foul language than ordinary: that the things I say of the Antipædobaptists are "so notoriously false, that he admires any man, especially of my order, could," &c.—Here a reader would expect

some great falsehood of mine. — All that vice is  
 stated in, is this. First, He enlarges on this to show  
 how "black heretical a tenet Socinianism is with good  
 people" (in the words not here say much of his own dis-  
 like of it); and then adds, that I say, "They have  
 many Socinians among them." That's true (save that  
 he leaves out the word *underhand*, — my word is *un-  
 derhand Socinians*) he adds, "insinuating as if we could  
 renounce them." That is false; for I say the direct  
 contrary, as will appear presently; but here he brings  
 over again what he had said, page 47 (to which I have  
 sworn just now) and quotes some words of mine at a  
 very distant place from the other, which any one that  
 will turn to the place will see, are not spoken of the  
 Antipedobaptists in general, or the Socinians in gene-  
 ral, but only of those that to their Socinianism, or de-  
 nial of Christ's divinity, do add a denial that he took  
 flesh of the Virgin Mary; of whom I say there are but  
 few in England.

Page 56. He says I excuse the Antipedobaptists of  
 holding these very opinions, which I at another place  
 (which he there recites) do own they endeavour to  
 root out, meaning Socinianism. Now, I never accused  
 them any farther than by saying, "They have many (un-  
 derhand Socinians among them)" and at the other  
 place, "Socinians they have some, that creep in among  
 them;" and is not this (if he had recited my words  
 true) consistent with the other, that "they that profess  
 it openly are rejected from their communion;" so that  
 the crime of false accusation returns on himself. He  
 knows well enough that their own members, those of  
 the General Assembly, and those of the General As-  
 sociation, have rejected on each other on account of  
 the Socinian tenets, at a much higher rate than I have  
 done.

*Ibid.* "Pelagianism and the holding the mortal-  
 ity of the soul, are very falsely imputed." — If he meant  
 imputed to *all* of them, it is false to say I imputed  
 these tenets to them. If he mean to *any* of them, he  
 will not have the face to deny that some parties of them

do deny original sin, and some do hold a sleep of the soul till the resurrection. " Mortality of the soul," are his own words.

Page 57. Here is the first place where our author begins to argue ; so that the reader might hope that he had done with his personal cavils and reproaches ; but if he hope so, he will afterward find himself mistaken. From hence, to page 88, he labours to overthrow the argument of my last chapter, which, I confess, I valued the most of any, because it tends to peace and unity.

I endeavoured to shew, that which way of baptism soever be the fittest, yet the difference between the present contending parties being not a fundamental one, is not of that moment as to justify their separation, and renouncing one another's communion. He makes these exceptions against the plea that I here use : —

First, That I did not give a definition of *schism*, or of such separation as is sinful. One that writes a brief dissuasive from drunkenness, adultery, or any other sin, does not usually enter into a methodical treatise of the definition of those sins ; because he reckons them commonly known, and so did I ; yet I shewed from St. Paul's discourse (Rom. xiv. and part of xv.) that he earnestly commands Christians to *receive one another*, and not to separate for differences in opinion or practice, which are not such wherein *the kingdom of God* does consist, or which are not (as I there expressed it) fundamental ; and a plain consequence of that is, That to separate from an established church for differences that are not so, is a *sinful* separation or schism.

But he complains that I did not give a catalogue of fundamentals : that, I hope, was not nor ever will be expected of me ; but I endeavoured to shew that the difference between the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists is not such. I mentioned there the severe law of the Gospel against separations, divisions, &c. ; and whereas the Gospel itself makes some exceptions to that general law, I having observed that some exceptions, particu-

larly mentioned in a law, do strengthen that law in all cases not excepted, proceeded to recite four instances of excepted cases; and that they were all that I could find in Scripture; and that he that separates from any church upon any ground, except one of those four, ought to be sure that he find his ground in Scripture. To all which this wretched answerer of a book says nothing; and if he could have said any thing to the purpose, it had been more material than any thing he has said.

I recited also the acknowledgments of several Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists, that this difference is not fundamental; and for the Antipædobaptists, the public confession of 100 churches of them. He answers not a word, but in effect condemns their opinion.

Page 58. He sets his own talent in logic to work. He defines *schism*: he makes the *genus* of it to be *the occasioning of schism*. One is bad enough, and the other very bad; but as rebellion, and the giving occasion to rebellion, are two things, so it is in schism.

Page 58. He defines *fundamentals*. They are *such things as are plainly necessary*; which is just as much as to say *as are plainly fundamental*. This is the man that Dr. Whitby calls "The very learned Mr. Gale."

Page 59. He says That as the Protestants separated from the Church of Rome, — so, if any church "do degenerate into dangerous errors and corruptions," &c. should he not here have restrained the signification of that general word *dangerous*, to the more limited sense of *fundamental*, as I had expressed it, or "errors in points plainly necessary," as he himself settles it.

Secondly, He answers (page 62) That beside those things that are fundamental or necessary to the constituting a true *Christian*, some other things are necessary to the constituting of a *church*; as that it have the ecclesiastical offices performed by ministers lawfully called to preach, give the sacraments, &c.

I do not disallow of the distinction; but who could have thought it to be of any use here to the Antipædo-

baptists? Had ever any of them, before this man, the forehead to deny that the Church of England has ecclesiastical officers to this purpose? He says,

Page 81, "We do not assert so much; yet to some it will, it may be, seem a little probable that she may perhaps have no bishops, presbyters, &c. no lawful ordinations."

He does not pretend to find any fault in the manner or circumstances of the ordinations in the Church of England; nor to urge or shew any fault in the derivation of the ministerial authority by succession from the apostles; and it had been indeed stark madness for one who can give no account at all, by whom, or by what hands the power or commission of their elders is derived from them to touch on that point. On the contrary, he would have it believed, that neither they nor we do count that necessary or of any use; for at page 64, he speaks of those whom he calls "the more judicious part of the Church of England, as having given up the chimera of an uninterrupted succession." If he and those judicious men conferred notes, they should have bid him say "Will quickly give it up;" and not have suffered him to pass for the first preacher of that doctrine. They should have reserved that honour to themselves. Now he is leader, and they tamely follow him.

As to his argument here, since he does not lay the blame on the manner of the ordinations, it is plain that all the meaning he has in saying "We have perhaps no bishops, no presbyters," &c. is, that they have never been baptized; and, therefore, cannot ordain or be ordained; so that after a long talk about the difference between "fundamental to a person's being a Christian, and fundamental to a church," the question returns to just no more than it was, Whether the age or manner of receiving baptism be fundamental to a person? for if it be not, he brings no new reason of its being fundamental to a church.

When he boasts (page 78, 79) that all the reasons I bring for the Antipædobaptists joining in communion



with other Christians in all things that they can, "are sufficiently answered, by the foregoing distinction between fundamentals of religion and fundamentals to the constitution of a true Christian church;" and says, of the age or time of receiving baptism, "it is a fundamental with us in the constitution of a church," — the distinction here is of no use; for these circumstances of baptism can be fundamental to a church no farther than they are fundamental [or of the essence] to each particular man's baptism. If the baptism he received in infancy is sufficient to denominate him a Christian, it puts him in a capacity (if nothing else hinder) of receiving orders; and if Mr. Gale cannot truly say, in the name of the Antipædobaptists in general, These circumstances are fundamental *with us* to the being of a Christian (as he cannot; for they deny them to be so) then neither is it true which he says in their names, "They are a fundamental with us in the constitution of a church."

Indeed, here he deduces all the reason of our being *no church* from our having *no baptism*; for having premised, "Perhaps some may carry this so far, as to question whether such a congregation is a visible church; for if, as I will prove hereafter, her [the Church of England's] baptism is not true, that is, if she have no baptism," &c. then he deduces what I recited, of her having no bishops, &c.; and (page 82) sets forth my persuasion to the Antipædobaptists to join the church, as absurd; telling us "we ought to unite with persons we are persuaded are not baptized;" which outrage of defiance is, what none or but few of the Antipædobaptists, beside himself, are guilty of.

If a *toleration* be a good thing, we see what mischievous effects are produced by the abuse of it in the minds, and by the mouths and pens of proud and arrogant men. The church and nation of England have so long tolerated these congregations, with their leaders (under the notion of weak, misled, schismatical, improperly ordained; but yet still well-meaning, quiet, and

modest men, such as would be glad and content with their own liberty, and would not affront the established church and government) so long, I say, till at last she herself has no bishops, presbyters, &c. is no church, and her people no Christians. If such Antipædobaptists, or other Dissenters, as are really modest men, ever have the toleration taken from them by that power which lately allowed it them, they will have reason to thank these few men of fury and impudence, who do render it intolerable by their flying in the face of the established church and religion. Holland is the noted place for toleration; and yet this would not have been borne with there.

3. A third plea that he uses is, That a church may be right in all fundamentals, and yet it does not follow that it is a duty to join or communicate with her; for some of the Dissenters in England, and (as I, he says, have granted) the Antipædobaptists particularly, are right in fundamentals; and yet the members of the established church do not think themselves bound to join them.

This man answers a chapter, and has not read it. I did in that chapter give four instances, wherein the Scripture forbids us to join any Christians that are in any of those cases. The second is false doctrine in fundamentals; and the fourth is this: — “If a church be schismatical, *i. e.* in a state of unjustifiable division or separation from another church from which she has withdrawn herself;” — for which I cite there, Rom. xvi. 17, where the apostle commands us to *avoid* such. This answers all the trifling, which here (page 66, &c.) take up several pages, pretending to shew that my argument of agreement in fundamentals, would as soon make it necessary for the established churches to join those that have separated from them, as for the Separators to return to the established churches.

Page 69. He at last allows some little difference between the plea of the Church of England and that of the Dissenters; in that the former “is established by the civil authority of the land.” This sort of men never

make any thing of ecclesiastic authority ; but do, as St. Peter says (second epist. ii. 10 ; and St. Jude, ver. 10) *despise* that government or dominion (in which presumption they have been lately hardened by doctrines preached where they ought not) ; therefore, he mentions only the *civil* ; and to that he attributes very little. He says, in the next page, "If there is no other reason, — the crime can be very little, if at all, less in the latter than in the former, *i. e.* in the church than in the Dissenters. This is what many of them think ; but this man speaks it out directly against the Scripture, which lays a great stress on our obedience to governors.

He forgets all the other differences ; as that the said church had been established long before their ways were thought on. She did not come out from them, but they from her ; for the Antipædobaptists, I had shewed in that chapter, and in chap. viii, that their eldest separate churches in England were not yet of the age of a man, *viz.* seventy years. Besides that, in case there was as yet no established church, but it were now to be established by majority of voices (which, in such a case of agreement in fundamentals, and difference in lesser opinions, would be necessary for avoiding schism) even so, he may be sure it would not be Antipædobaptists ; nor is there, nor ever was, a national church of that opinion in the world.

These and other things, which shew on which side the guilt of schism lies, he omits, and speaks only of the civil power ; and that, as it may seem, only that he might cast a slur upon it, and shew how little he regarded it.

Whereas he urges here, that I "must take this along with me as the consequence :—That if any of the dissenting parties should become the national church by the civil power, they would have a right to the same privileges ; and that the same may be as justly claimed by the Churches of Scotland, United Provinces, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark," &c. He knows that I, for my part, have taken that consequence along with me, and

yielded to it thus far, That in all such countries, an inhabitant is to hold communion in all things that he can; provided there be no idolatry, false doctrine in the fundamentals, &c. nor no wicked thing required of him to profess or practise. As for what he urges of English churches built abroad, meaning, I suppose, Rotterdam; it may be it is for the use of such as understand not Dutch, or forty other reasons unknown to me. He would have me answer for some great men in England, that refused communion at Charenton. I know not their case, nor their reasons, and so cannot either censure or justify their actions; save that, I think, I have heard or read that the noble Lord Clarendon (whom he mentions for one) did it, because there they held correspondence with, and adhered to, and justified the rebels in England; which, if so, was doubtless a good reason; for as I (in the chapter which Mr. Gale is here answering) did allow that "if a church teach doctrines encouraging any wickedness, as fornication, &c. it is a just cause to shun her communion:" under that, &c. any one would mean *rebellion* for one; which God preserve any church hereabouts from teaching. Some that call themselves of our church, have made a scandalous beginning; and, which is worse, have gone about to justify it from those very places of God's word which assign damnation to it.

P. 71. He takes refuge under the plea of *occasional* instead of *constant* communion; which plea was much in vogue among the shifting place-hunters at the time of his writing; but now every body is ashamed of it; and the Antipædobaptists generally (as well as the honest men among other Dissenters) did scorn it then; so that his pleading for it was not for their use; but shews the strength of his stomach to digest any doctrine that is for convenience. That is his word, "communicate together as should seem convenient, *lege*," for holding a place.

Then for five pages he answers by recriminating. That if the Dissenters are to blame in separating for things not fundamental, yet the church is likewise to

blame for imposing them, since they prove an occasion for the others separating. How far some churches may be to blame on this account I know not. The Church of England imposes the least in order to lay-communication of any church I think in the world. Nothing but the professions of baptism and the Catechism, as I in that chapter shewed; and for ceremonies in prayer, &c. there have often been broad intimations given to the Dissenters, that if they could agree on what would satisfy them, the church would receive any reasonable proposals. But what can satisfy so disagreeing parties? At the end of this answer (p. 75) he has forgot the case we are speaking of. He says, "If the church, by arbitrary impositions, break in on fundamental laws," &c. which is contrary to the hypothesis; for we are speaking only of men, or societies, agreeing in fundamentals.

— P. 77, &c. He recites how I argue upon a supposition that the Antipædobaptists are in the right in their opinion, and yet ought not to separate; which argument he represents absurd, and makes it so, by altering the supposition or case that I put. I put no other case but this: — Suppose they are in the right in thinking their way of baptizing, by dipping at adult age, "to be the better or more fitting way." I did (as plainly as a man can speak) distinguish between two sorts of them: "Some men of that way do think, that all such as have no other baptism but what was given in infancy and by infusion, are no Christians. . . . I hope there are not many such; and Mr. Stennet reckons it a slander on the Antipædobaptists," &c.; and such I there advise to read what I had written before, to prove that the point in debate between the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists is not a fundamental article; and there I had owned, that "if it be, they must indeed separate in their communion, and the guilt will lie on those that are in the error;" but had shewn that the far greater part of them are of the other sort, or of the other opinion, viz. that it is not a fundamental difference; but though they think their way of baptizing the more regular and fitting, do yet allow that men baptized in infancy are Chris-

tians; and I pleaded that these, supposing that they were in the right in that opinion, that their way of baptizing were the fittest, and though they continued in that opinion, and did not baptize their children in infancy, yet ought to hold communion with other Christians in other things.

Now, Mr. Gale here owns plainly of which of the said two sorts he himself is (of the worst for certain, if one be worse than another) viz. that his opinion (or *Notion*, as he calls it) is, That none are Christians (he calls it *true Members of the Christian Church*) but themselves (the very thing which Mr. Stennet disclaims with abhorrence); and speaks as if I had put the case that those of *his notion* were in the right, and yet ought to come to the communion of the church. If he had not minded what I said, he takes me for an idiot; and if he had, he does wilfully pervert my words! — “Our author (says he) supposes *us* in the right in all this. He argues on a supposition that *we* are in the right.” Whom does he mean by *us* and *we*? I meant only the charitable sort (who take *us* to be Christians, and *we* them) that *they* should communicate in prayers and the other sacrament, even putting the case they were in the right in refusing to bring their own children to baptism in infancy. As for the other uncharitable sort, I question whether they are fit to communicate anywhere; for whatever becomes of the question; Whether he that is not dipped be no Christian? it is out of question that he that in his debates about dipping or pouring has lost charity, is none; but, as I said before, I hope there are not many of them such. This poor blunder or fallacy he brings, I think, ten times in his book, and builds his demonstrations upon it, and desires his friend “always to remember it. All that I say is to proceed on that supposition. None are baptized but believers dipped, which you remember, Sir, Mr. Wall always supposes.” I never supposed any such thing; nor could any understand me so, — but some gross or malicious perverter of words.

Some other sophistical turns he gives to the phrases as he goes along in this argument; which every one that is exercised in arguing sees as soon as he reads them; for the sake of the unskilful they may be briefly noted.

P. 78. "Not of the essence, but wholly indifferent." It does not follow that a circumstance which is not of the essence, is therefore wholly indifferent. Dipping may be more fitting than pouring, and yet not absolutely necessary, or of the essence.

P. 79. "Alterations change the thing."—Alterations in circumstances do not change the essence.

P. 80. "A subject and a mode is necessary, therefore, the true subject, *a believer*,—and the true mode, *dipping*, is necessary to *true baptism*."—There is a distinction known to every body that studies logic, between *true* metaphysically, and essentially, and *true* morally. An honest man is the only *true* man morally; but every man is a *true* man metaphysically, *i. e.* he is truly a man;—so for churches, one may be much better ordered or truer, another faulty; and yet, if not corrupted in fundamentals, is a true church, or truly a church;—so for the modes of baptism, or of receiving the other sacrament: one may be fitter; and yet the other does not cease to be *true*; and the baptism or Lord's Supper so given or taken, to be true baptism or communion. This other poor fallacy also runs through all his book; as at p. 66, "True church," &c.

*Ibid.* He brings the definition of a church from our 19th Article. "Wherein the sacraments are duly administered;" and though he recite, yet does not sufficiently mind the last words: "In all things that of necessity are requisite to the same;" else, any difference of mode in administering either of the sacraments, in any two churches, would make one of them to be no true church; and so in the next words, "baptism duly performed:" that which is performed in a way, which is not the most decent or fitting of all, may yet be duly performed "in all things that of necessity are requisite."

P. 81. He quotes Tertullian (*de Bapt. c. 15*) *Baptismus, cum rite non habeant, sine dubio non habent.*

‘They who are not duly baptized, are certainly not baptized.’ No man of tolerable sincerity or reputation for it, would have brought that saying of Tertullian to the purpose that he here does. Tertullian is there speaking of the baptism of such heretics as do not baptize in the name of the Trinity, nor believe it. His words are, *Non idem Deus est nobis et illis, nec unus Christus, id est, idem, ideoque nec baptismus unus, quia non idem, quem cum rite non habeant; sine dubio non habent.* ‘They and we have neither the same God, nor the same Christ, and so not the same baptism; which, since they have not aright, they have it not at all.’—To quote a scrap of this, and apply it to those that do both of them use the Christian baptism, differing only in mode or time, is the property of one who aims not to inform his readers, but to blind them.

P. 82. “Baptism in general, without some particular modes or other, cannot be conceived or administered.”—True; but some modes or circumstances are absolutely determined, and expressly enjoined by our Saviour, as that it should be with *water*, and in the form appointed; and yet some other circumstances, as of the age, and of the washing either of the whole body or part, may not be absolutely limited.

P. 83. “If only that *form* is true which our Saviour prescribes, then only those *subjects* and that *mode* are lawful which he specifies.”—If our Saviour had so specified the subject and mode of baptism, as to have said expressly “Baptize only the adult, and only by dipping,” in like manner as he specifies the *form* in which we are to baptize, the one had been as necessary as the other.

*Ibid.* “In short, we refuse to communicate with the Church of England, for the same reason that she refuses to communicate with persons she cannot esteem baptized.”—This is indeed short, full, and open; but then it is a desperate and uncharitable tenet. Like to that of the Donatists and Papists, — None saved, no Christians, but themselves. What a poor price of our Saviour’s blood does this man set forth! None bap-



tized in his name for many hundred years, but a few of the Albigenses at the year 1100; and a few straggling people in Holland and England since 1522. Even those in Holland are most, or many of them, cut off; for they do commonly use affusion. He, in this point, forsakes most of those of his own communion; for they own it not to be a fundamental, as I shewed. The governors, when they tolerated these men, little thought they should come to be censured as unbaptized.

P. 85. "The church has no power over those that withdraw from her communion." — She has power to declare them excommunicated, and so leave them under the consequences of that sentence, when they do in effect excommunicate themselves by withdrawing from her communion; or else all those canons for excommunicating schismatics, that would not return to the unity of the church (whereof there are many in general councils) were made to no purpose. Here he would make me a criminal (for he is now returned to his vein of personal reproaches) because I insinuated, he says, "that the act of toleration does not [he makes it *cannot*] tie up the Church's hands from any proceedings of that nature," viz. of presenting to the spiritual court, and excommunicating those that are obstinate; but does only set aside temporal punishments. The common lawyers are the best judges of the sense of the act. As for my opinion, it is the same as it was; and as I there cited Bishop Stillingfleet, "That it is a fundamental right of any church to exclude out of itself such as by the laws of a Christian society are fit to be shut out," — so I do here cite a greater author, who (Rom. xvi. 17) commands that *those that cause divisions be marked and avoided*; which the church may now command to be done. He does not indeed say any thing of their loss of money or goods, &c.; neither did I.

P. 86. He repeats again what he had said (p. 9) That thirty or forty years ago, I or the churchwardens, did present one Katherine Hall and one Joseph Brown, Antipædobaptists, who, continuing obstinate, were excommunicated. Does he think that in forty years time

there has not been occasion to present several? Some for schism, some for fornication, &c. — some of whom were excommunicated, some did penance, &c. Why has he not picked up all their names, and published their excommunications to the world? He says I afterward asked pardon of the latter of these two. I remember something of it. One part of the presentment was, That he refused to repair a chancel that belonged to the house he lived in; and I questioned afterward Whether the repairs should lie on him or his landlord? and in that doubt asked his pardon. Are not these memorable things to be printed in a book of controversy on a question of religion! — and for which he should write in the Contents of his book, “Mr. Wall, a friend to persecution in religion!” and should run on to the end of the chapter with an impertinent harangue about the British government, French dragoons, Judas, and Pilate; and how “close it touches him [poor man] to see one whose function is to serve at the altar, &c. of a complexion so repugnant to meekness!” &c. Whereas I meddled not with any of the temporal punishments which any of them suffered (as the law then was) by fines, forfeitures, &c. and presented Dissenters no otherwise than those of our own persuasion, who scandalously absented themselves from prayers and sacraments, that they might be required either to join duly in them, or else be authoritatively cut off from them, and avoided; which is a thing that all who read the Scripture do know ought to be done in any well-ordered church; and which the Antipædobaptists, themselves, not regarding the act of Toleration, do toward such as are (as they call it) *disorderly*.

But all this personal blackening, which has run through these two chapters, seems plainly to be only for fear lest those of that persuasion should read what I have written for their use, without prejudice; which, if they will do, I am not unwilling they should read his book after it; and see in which of the two are the signs of that sly malice and hypocrisy which he would affix on me.

## CHAPTER III.

As the two first chapters have had very little in them about the cause, but a great deal about me, which concerns not the reader, they being, as he calls them, my *character* (a pretty subject for a book of controversy, and he a fitting person to write men's characters); so this third concerns neither me, nor the cause, or matter of my book. What I had written was on the question Whether infants are to be baptized? — or have been, in Christ's church, usually baptized? He brings in here three large chapters (or *letters* as he calls them) about another matter, viz. about the *way* of baptizing; whether by dipping or pouring, with which I had meddled as little as possible. I had indeed, toward the latter end of my work (where I mention the several tenets of the English Antipædobaptists) put in *obiter* a few words (not two pages in all) of the answers which they that use profusion, do give to the arguments which the others do bring for an absolute necessity of immersion; granting, at the same time, that *that*, "where it may be safely used, is the most fitting manner;" and pleading, at another place, as well as I could, for the retrieving of the use of it according to the Rubric of the church.

Here he, though he calls his book *Reflections* on mine, postponing what he had to say about infant baptism, which was the subject of mine, to nigh the middle of his book, falls into a long discourse about *dipping* in baptism. I make no doubt but that he, or somebody else, had before collected these observations and criticisms in some *Adversaria*, or common place-book; but what makes him call them *Reflections* on my history? — or, What makes him crowd in my name here and there into them? Was that dealing honestly with those of his party, to whom he had, I suppose, promised to write against my book?

Yet all that do content themselves with pouring or

sprinkling in baptism, have reason to thank him for his long digression about dipping and pouring, because he has in it said (and, according to his way of proving, proved) such things as being laid together, do fully yield up to them the cause for which he contends, as I shall shew presently. He begins,

Page 91, 92, With a sort of syllogism, in which he triumphs; — indeed a very transparent paralogism.

The substance of it is this: —

“Adult baptism, and that by dipping, is delivered in Scripture *plainly and clearly*. Infant baptism, and by affusion, but *obscurely*, if at all. Therefore, we do what the Scriptures *expressly* teach; while *they* do, at best, but what is very *obscurely* taught, — so our case is secure, and far the most eligible.”

This argument runs upon a supposition that is not true in fact, viz. As if the Pædobaptists did discard or disallow of the baptizing of adult persons, or of dipping in baptism; and did set up affusion in opposition to dipping; and did count an adult person superannuated for baptism; and at this rate Mr. Gale talks in many places, as at page 239, “boldly substituting it [infant baptism] in the place of what our Lord did ordain [viz. adult baptism]”; but the Pædobaptists do own and practise the baptizing of adult persons, whenever they meet with any that have not been already baptized; and the dipping of them, if they be able to bear it; and do see the examples of this, *clearly and frequently* delivered in Scripture.

They practise, therefore, that which he calls *clear from Scripture*; but they practise the other too, as being sufficiently shewn from Scripture to be God's will, though in words not so clear and express; so that his argument runs just as this would do: —

Giving the Lord's Supper to *men*, is commanded in Scripture *plainly and expressly*; — giving it to *women*, but *obscurely*; therefore, they that should give it only to men, and refuse it to women, would act most securely.

Whereas the consequence is, They that give it to men are certainly in the right, so far as they go ; but yet they would do ill in refusing it to women.

And so they that give baptism to adult persons, not already baptized, and dip them, if they are able to bear it, do well (provided they that give it be persons lawfully called and ordained to the office of baptizing; which I do not see how any among the present Antipædobaptists are) ; but they do ill in refusing it to infants also ; and that by affusion, if they are not able to bear dipping.

A seryant, employed in his master's business, must do his master's will in all things, which he understands to be really meant and intended by him; though some of the things be more plainly expressed than others of them, which he knows by the nature of the thing; and by good consequence from his master's words, to be his true meaning. Any one sees this author's argument to be of no force, unless we who give baptism to infants, did refuse it to adult persons ; and indeed arguing is not his talent : he tries at critical learning.

He pretends to wonder at me for offering to give to the word *baptizing*, the signification of *washing* ; and for saying that it does not necessarily include *dipping* in its signification ; but is, in Scripture, taken for washing in general, such as may be done either by dipping, or pouring, or rubbing water on the thing washed ; and he so speaks as if I were singular in, or the first broacher of this notion of the word ; which would be a just reason to like it the less ; but all Pædobaptists that I know of, say the same. It were frivolous to quote many. *Chemnitius Exam. Concil. Trid.* part 2, can. 3, brings in some Papists, in their plea for the Romish alterations, arguing that the church has power to alter even the sacraments in the substantial parts : that Christ commanded absolutely to *dip* ; and that the word *baptize* does absolutely signify so. He answers, " If the word *Baptizetis* did signify [*simpliciter*, absolutely, or necessarily], to dip, no man might, or could have changed the custom ; but Paul, an interpreter, most

certainly to be depended on, tells us, that to baptize is to cleanse by the washing of water (Eph. vi. Pit. in Acts ii) which is done by any sort of washing.

Page 94. Mr. Gale undertakes to make it appear plainly, that the word does necessarily include dipping in its signification, and never denotes any thing less. To this purpose he makes a tedious recital of sixty or seventy places, most of them out of the Greek poets, that never heard of any sacrament; and at last, to one's great amazement, there is not one quarter of the places that have the word *Baptizo*, or any derivative of it, in them. Instead of that, they have the word *Batto*, a word never used in Scripture with any relation to baptism, and so nothing to this purpose. Of the rest, which have the word *Baptizo*, it is in some of them used for such washing as is by dipping, or putting the thing spoken of all over into the water; and in some of them not; which comes up to all that I had said, that the word, to baptize, has beside the signification *immergo*, that of *lavo* in general.

For his disappointing the reader by bringing citations of *Batto*, instead of *Baptizo*, he makes an apology, 100 pages afterwards [page 217], that they are synonymous; and having no proof of it (as it is impossible he should) he says that "I do seem to allow them to be so, because I argue promiscuously from both of them."

I had, in my first edition, just mentioned, in six or seven lines, two places out of the Old Testament (Dan. iv. 33; and Levit. xiv. 6) in which the Seventy have used *Batto* in the sense (as I then took it) not of dipping, but only of wetting. Not taking however *Batto* and *Baptizo* to be synonymous; but meaning thus, That if *Batto* itself did sometimes signify only wetting, or a partial washing, much more might *Baptizo* (which is but a diminutive of it) be so used; but I was quickly informed of my mistake in the sense of the latter of those texts; and in my second edition, left them both out; and in a paper which I published for the use of those that had bought the first edition, owned my reason for so doing; and all this several years before Mr. Gale pub-

lished his; and there can be little doubt but he had seen it. Men that are any thing versed in the ingenuous way of writing controversies, will judge how poor a thing it is in him to spend several pages (as he does in the next chapter, page 137) in an operose proof of a thing which I had, so long before he or any adversary appeared, owned in a few lines. That these two words are synonymous he must have some better proof; for I never took them to be so, nor ever heard of any one that did. His friend, whom he there persuades "to take no exception at his using them so," had need to be a very good-natured man.

It is needless to spend time in making such exceptions as might be made to the particular quotations that compose the rest of this chapter. I shall only make these three observations about them in general.

First, That he being stiff in maintaining that *Baptizō* does always necessarily contain in its signification *dipping*, and being oftentimes troubled how to adapt the notion of dipping to some, even of these passages here produced by himself, is forced to enlarge the sense of that word to as great a latitude as the Pædobaptists ordinarily do give to the word *washing*; and does lay down rules, by which the pouring of a small quantity of water on the face (or indeed any other part) of the baptized person is justified, as true baptism; and proved by his principles to be *dipping* the person; and so he has, as I said, yielded up the cause (for which he contends in this and the following chapters) to those who administer baptism by pouring; for here in this chapter, at

Page 117, Having cited a relation of Aristotle concerning a certain sea-coast, which, at low water, is not *baptized* (that is Aristotle's word); but when the tide comes in is under water; and having observed, as an objection against himself, that *Baptizō* is here used to signify the land's being under water, by the water's coming in upon it, and not by its being put into the water, he solves it thus: — "Besides, the word *Baptizō*, perhaps, does not so necessarily express the action of putting under water, as, in general, a thing's being in that

condition, no matter how it comes so, whether it is put into the water, or the water comes over it." And he speaks much to the same purpose in the next chapter (page 149) about the dew in which Nebuchadnezzar was (as he would have it called) *dipped*; and though, in the case of Aristotle's use of the word, he puts in here the word *perhaps*, the thing is certainly true, if *Barriço* does always signify *to dip*; for there is nothing surer than that the shoal-coast was not put every tide into the water, but the water came over it.

Now add to this what he says, page 188, where to an argument of mine he answers thus: — "The most he can infer from it, is only that it does not always necessarily mean to dip all over." And a little after, "We readily grant that there may be such circumstances in some cases, which necessarily and manifestly shew the thing spoken of is not said to be dipped all over; but it does not therefore follow, that the word in that place does not signify *to dip*; and I believe Mr. Wall will allow his pen is dipped in the ink, though it is not daubed all over, or totally immersed; so that after all he says, it still remains that the word does signify *to dip*." And after some farther talk, in the next page, p. 139: — "The utmost, I say, that could be inferred from this passage, is only that the word does not always necessarily imply a total immersion, or dipping the whole thing spoken of all over; which I readily allow." [Mark that]; "and a little after thus, to use the familiar instance I mentioned before, we say *Dip the pen*; meaning only the nib of it, which we really dip into the ink. Though the whole pen is not dipped all over; yet the part particularly referred to is; and the pen may be truly said to be dipped, according to that known rule: 'What is true of any one part may be said of the whole complexly, though not of every part of the whole separately.'" — There's a learned maxim of the private academies!

He maintains the same thing (page 146) concerning the hyssop that was to be dipped. "The word is *Báç*



and plainly signifies *to dip*, though it was not dipped all over," &c.

Now to apply this to the question between the Antipædobaptists on the one side, and the Church of England or other Protestant Church, on the other side, about the manner of baptizing.

*Antipæd.* We must not hold communion with you, because you are not truly baptized, in that you do not dip the person whom you pretend to give baptism to; whereas *baptism* is *dipping*; and *to baptize* signifies *to dip*.

*Churchman.* We dip all such as do own themselves, or are by their parents owned, to have strength to bear it. On others we pour water, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that is *baptizing* or (if you will have the word) *dipping*; for your own Mr. Gale teaches, that a thing or person is *baptized* or *dipped* if it be under water; "no matter how it comes so, whether it be put into the water, or the water comes over it." Page 117, 143.

*Antipæd.* This might be granted, if you did pour on water enough to cover the person's body; but a man or a child cannot be said to be baptized, covered or dipped with a handful of water poured on the face.

*Churchman.* Yes, he may; for the same Mr. Gale does readily *allow* and readily *grant* to us, and does teach you, that the word *baptize* or *dip*, does "not always necessarily imply a total immersion, or dipping the whole thing spoken of all over;" and he exemplifies this by a pen dipped in the ink. If only the nib of it be put in the ink, "the pen (he says) may be truly said to be dipped;" and gives a general rule for it. "What is true of any part," &c. page 138, 139, 140.

*Antipæd.* Well, but still Mr. Gale stands steady to that, — that *to baptize* is *to dip*; and by a vast number of quotations, with his explanations of them, maintains his point for the word *dip*; and says (page 168) "If the word does but signify *to dip*, I ask no more. Let it relate to the whole body, or a part of it only, either way

I gain my point." The like he says (page 172) "It is all we ask."

*Churchman.* True; but he could not apply the word *dip* to his own quotations, without yielding up the thing itself, which you and all men have been used to mean by *dipping*. He has kept the word; but has granted away the thing. If that which he allows be *dipping*, the controversy is at an end.

Indeed, these principles of Mr. Gale will serve to justify, not only those that observe the rules of the Church of England, and do *pour* water on such as cannot bear putting into it; but even the most disorderly baptizers of all, whom I confess I know not how to justify by any other. Those, I mean, who affecting to use as little water as possible, do purposely throw no more than a sprinkle or drop of water on the face of a child. The Scripture will never justify these, nor the ancient church, nor the Rubric of the Church of England (for that requires *pouring* in the weakest child's case); nothing but either the Directory, or Mr. Gale's criticisms; for even by a sprinkle or drop some part is under water; and then the whole man is under water by his *known* rule: "What is true of any one part," &c.; and if the tip of a finger, or a nib of a pen, be dipped, the man or the pen is dipped.

Whereas a truer notion is, that *Baptizō* may be used wherever the English word *wash* may be used; but a person can hardly be said to be *washed* by a sprinkle or drop, or by dipping a tip of a finger, or a pen by its nib dipped.

Secondly, I cannot but observe the preposterous way which the Antipædobaptists take, in filling several pages with quotations out of secular authors, where the word *Baptizō* is taken for such washing as is by dipping the thing washed into water; which is the only aim of this long chapter, and part of the following. There are none of the Pædobaptists but what do grant and own at the first word, that it is often used in that sense; and I think most of us do own that it is oftener found used so than in any other sense of washing, — that way of washing being used in the case of most things

that happen to be spoke of. Now, when a debate stands so, that both sides do agree, that in secular books a word is often used for *washing by dipping*, and there is no question made of that; but the only question between them is this, that one side affirms (but the other denies) that it is sometimes used for other ways of washing, as pouring or rubbing water, &c. (to lump the matter by guess, say 3000 times it be found used *for this way*; and 1000 times *for the other way*) — what an idle thing it is, for these deniers to bring instances of that which is confessed by both sides, instead of overthrowing or confuting the instances brought by the others for those other ways!

Thus they do in the case of the word μαθητεύω, to *disciple*, or *make*, or *enter disciples*. No mortal denies but that word comes in use *oftener* in the case of such disciples as are actually taught, or do begin to learn, at the very time of their entering, or first being called or made disciples. The only question is Whether that word may not properly be used, or be not sometimes used, for such entering, or calling persons into discipleship, as is in order to their being taught hereafter; and yet Mr. Gale, in the following chapters, spends fifty pages in giving instances where it includes *present* teaching, which any one would have granted him; and so here he has brought about fourteen instances of the word βαπτίζω (beside near half a hundred of another word, nothing to the purpose); in most of which, but not all, it is used for such washing as must have been performed by dipping. None ever denied that it is often so used; nor would I deny to any disputant that it is *for the most part* so used. His task had been to shew that it is never used for washing in those other senses. Not that I would put it upon him to prove a negative absolutely; but he should have confuted or answered those instances to which I there referred the reader, viz. in Mr. Walker's *Doctrine of Baptism*. He (at page 130) recites my words, where I say "Mr. Walker has largely shewn, from Greek authors, lexicographers, and critics, that beside the signification *immergo*, they give it that of *lavo* in

general ;" and subjoins, in his own next words, "Whereas you see, Sir, I have fully baffled all that is alleged from any passages in the Grecian writers." If he mean this baffling only of the places here alleged by himself, it is a mock fight ; but if he mean it of those in Mr. Walker's book, I declare in good earnest, I think this the most shameless saying that ever I read in the book of any man of tolerable repute. I verily believe that he never read (or perhaps never saw) the book ; and that any one that reads it, will guess the same ; and if he have, it is so much the worse.

One thing indeed this chapter is good for : it has helped him to more authors to fill up his Table of Authors, than perhaps any three other ; so many Greek and Latin poets, with their editions, *London*, 1700, as if they were not common in every school-boy's hand ; and so for Milton, Dryden (but *Hudibras* is by some chance missing) as if they also could teach us any thing about baptism or religion.

Thirdly, There is one thing in this chapter which I cannot observe without some disdain. The whole rhapsody of quotations in it is nothing to me, nor to my book. It must probably have been some collection made before ; and to make it look as somewhat relating to me, he has in many places of it crowded in my name ; but he has in most of them engaged me in such boyish disputes, that I am shamed to have my name seen in them. To give an instance : — At page 112, he recites out of Aristophanes, in his play called *The Parliament of Women*, a talk about *washing of wool* (*Bárrai*) ; where first he makes the argument run on my side, and says "No doubt, if Mr. Wall knows of this place, he thinks it mightily for his purpose ; and especially if he has but found," &c. ; and so goes on for half a page. "This will please Mr. Wall. He will insist upon this." But when he has at last learned out of Homer, Suidas, Phavorinus, and two or three more (what any old woman could have told him) that wool is commonly put into the water to be washed, then he triumphs over me again,

and says "This can be of no use to Mr. Wall, unless to convince him," &c. — whereas the whole criticism (and indeed the whole chapter) do convince me of nothing but of this, That the author of it has misspent a great deal of time, — the whole being of no other use than to shew that the word does sometimes signify such washing as is by *dipping*, — and which nobody ever doubted of.

Fourthly, I will make one observation, a better natured one, tending to the commendation of him, and of the Antipædobaptists; of them for their generosity, and being easily pleased; — and of him for his abundant justice. It is to be noted, that this chapter was published a good while before the rest, as a specimen of what the book should be. They seemed very well pleased, and much taken with it, and encouraged him to go forward; which was an instance of very good nature, since it is so little to the purpose, that if one were to expose him among judicious men, one would desire them to read this chapter; but he is to be commended for doing them more than justice, and making the goods delivered better than the sample; for the following chapters are really something more to the purpose, and of a better strain. Always except the sixth and the ninth. In one of which he brings against some passages in my book, an accusation so palpably false, that every reader must cry *shame* on him. In the other he brings (not trifling arguments out of poets and plays, but) the most loathsome and execrable blasphemies out of some Jewish libels, without any relation to the question, without any occasion given, without any advantage to his argument, without any cause that can compensate for the mischief of publishing such scandals, except a pride which he may have in giving his admirers to understand that he is master of that sort of reading.

## CHAPTER IV.

WHAT I have already said of the signification of the word *Baptizo*, makes it needless to say any thing to what he produces here from two Lexicons, and from Vossius, Casaubon, Grotius, Petavius, and Stennet. He would prove from them that its proper and genuine sense is *immergo*. At p. 142 he styles it the primary and general sense; if he mean by these epithets only that it is the most usual and ordinary sense in which it is taken, I grant it; and his authors prove no more. Constantine, he says, almost always renders it so; it is but almost. Stevens never fails, &c. till in another period, &c. The rest, who are Pædobaptists, confess no more than that is the most usual sense; and Mr. Stennet has done what he himself has here done, given several instances where it is taken so, without pretending to overthrow the instances produced by Mr. Walker and others, where it is used for washing only some part of the body or thing spoken of.

In short, it is to no purpose for them to say any more of this matter till they have answered to those instances in *Mr. Walker's Doctrine of Baptism*. If they expect that we should write them over again in answer to every new book of theirs, it is an unreasonable demand; since there they stand ready for any one's examination, and I referred them to them: and it is alike unreasonable to expect that without their overthrowing the evidence of those there brought, we should spend time in looking out others, and read books to so poor a purpose as is the search of a word.

However, because Mr. Gale is so positive, and rep-  
tures his reputation on it, saying here (p. 137, and to the same purpose at several other places over and over) that the word is never used to signify *pouring*, but always *dipping*, I will endeavour to prick this bladder of confidence, and name him a place that shall affect the

reputation not only of his skill but of his veracity; and, omitting those in Mr. Walker (which would be too voluminous) and any other which I cannot be sure he has seen, mention one which he must have seen (for he quotes a part of the sentence in which it is in his tenth letter or chapter, p. 377). I do in my answer to that chapter and page recite it at large (as perhaps he would have done if it had not been for the shame to have it compared with what he says here, for the word is used by Origen for the action of baptizing the sacrifice and wood, which incontestibly was only pouring water on them) the reader may stay till he comes to the place, or turn to it beforehand.

P. 136. He is angry that I passed over this matter in so few words (whereas he has spent more pages on it than I did lines) and thinks it a sign that I am under some apprehensions that I am not in the right; and I, on the contrary, think a man's using a great many words, especially when he says nothing new in them, a sign of such apprehension. To any other man my reason of saying so little of the manner of baptizing should be, because it was none of my subject. To Mr. Gale, how does he know but that I had some intimation that he had lying by him a long collection about that dispute, which, if I meddled with it, he would publish as reflections on me, and make the Antipædobaptists believe it was written in answer to me, and expect that I should reply to it. To avoid that trouble, I said as little as possible on that matter; so little as would have prevented the occasion with any other man; but he was resolved to publish his lucubrations, and absurdly put my name in the frontispiece of them. He comes at last,

P. 137, To the use of the word in Scripture (which I had said was chiefly to be regarded); he mentions twenty-five instances which he will give out of the Old Testament and Apocrypha; and at last there are but four (two of the Septuagint, and two in the Apocrypha) that have the word in them; all the rest are of Βάπτω. Of these two of the Septuagint, one (Isa. xxi. 4.) is a

figurative expression, and so nothing to the purpose. He thinks (and truly enough) that nobody will urge that place against him; so there is but one (2 Kings v.) Naaman's washing himself in Jordan; which washing is expressed there four times: once in the command; once in Naaman's refusal; once in his servant's intreaty; and once in his actual obeying. In the first three it is *λούω*, in the last *βαπτίζω*; a sign that those words are used synonymously and promiscuously. And Naaman's body does not seem to have been leprous all over (that we need suppose him to have gone all over into the water) but some one place of it; for what he had expected of the prophet was, that he should have *stricken his hand over the place and recovered the leper* (v. 11).

Of the two in the Apocrypha, one is Judith's being washed (or, as the word in the Greek is, *baptized*) in or at a spring, to make herself more acceptable to Holofernes (chap. xiii. 7.) which, whether it were by dipping herself [Note that it was in the camp, for so are the words: *ad fontem illum aquæ in castris*; and it appears (chap. vii.) that the springs were especially guarded with soldiers] or only washing her hands, feet, &c. we cannot know.

The other is a place of which Mr. Gale tells a lamentable story how it affrighted him for a while; it relates to the washing that was to be used by one that was unclean by touching a dead body. Syracides, Eccclus. xxiv. 26, *ὁ βαπτίζομενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ*, &c. *He that is washed from* [or after the touching of] *a dead body, and toucheth it again, what awaiteth his washing?* Mr. Gale having observed, from Numb. xix. 13, and other places, that such a person was to have the water of purification sprinkled on him on the third day and on the seventh day, had thought that the word *βαπτίζομενος* related to that sprinkling, and says "he remembers the time when he thought this a very formidable instance." He recovered some degree of hope when he observed that the unclean person was (as he thinks) required, beside the sprinkling, to have another washing.



He goes a great way about to prove this, partly from Scripture, partly from the customs of the Mahometans and of the Babylonians, and expresses a prophane doubt (whether the Jews borrowed it from the Babylonians, or they from the Jews) and makes an imperfect proof of it at the last. If there were any such other washing, there is no doubt but the word *Βαπτίζόμενος* refers to both.

But why did the appearance that the word might signify *sprinkling with water*, look so formidable to Mr. Gale? All the tendency that it had was to have convinced him that he must acknowledge his Christian neighbours who had received this sacrament by sprinkling or perfusion, to be baptized persons as well as himself, and so the separation between them must not have continued. All the Separaters, who are of a sincere and charitable principle, do own it to be a desirable thing that all Christians were of one body and communion; and that if they could be satisfied in conscience that it were lawful for them to join with the Church, they should count it a great happiness so to do; but any appearance of such satisfaction or conviction is to Mr. Gale, it seems, a very formidable thing. Such expressions starting from a man before he is aware, do give the truest indications of his inward aims and fears. I had mentioned at the latter end of my book a sort of people who keep their consciences (as beggars do their sores) raw and unhealed on purpose. The readers of this expression of his will be apt to make the application.

These four are all the instances where the word *Βαπτίζω* is used by the Septuagint, or the Greek writers or translators of the apocryphal books; they used other words instead of it: for washing of clothes, *πλύνω*; of the body, or hands, or any part, *λέω* (as almost always where it is ordered "He shall wash his flesh, or wash, or bathe all his flesh in water," they render it *λέσεται ὕδατι*, or *λέσεται τὸ σῶμα*, or *πᾶν τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι*); where a foot, or hand, or finger, or tip of a finger, or top of a bunch of hyssop, is dipped in water, they use mostly *βάπτω*. On that one instance which I brought (in my

first edition, but left it out in the second) of Nebuchadnezzar's body being wet with dew (which they render ἐβάφθη) Mr. Gale makes a long discourse, and would have it to be *was dipped in dew*; and runs to St. Helena, the Leeward Islands, Egypt, &c. to fetch in stories of dew, all to no purpose, since the words are ἀπὸ τῆς δροῦς, from, or by the dew. No writer whatsoever would speak of a body dipped from the dew, or by or with the dew.

Of the four instances which I (passing by others) had in half a page produced out of the New Testament to prove that *to baptize* is a word oftentimes there so used as not to include dipping in its signification, the first was (Luke xi. 38) where St. Luke says *The Pharisee marvelled that our Saviour was not first baptized (ἰπρωτον βαπτισθῆναι) before dinner*. Now all that the Pharisee expected was, that he should have washed his hands before dinner. I shewed this to be all that they themselves did, or required of others, from Mark vii. 5; and Mr. Gale takes it no otherwise.

I called this a plain instance that St. Luke uses the phrase of a man's being baptized in a case where there is no dipping of him, but only washing his hands; and I do still think it so plain an one that nothing of good sense can be objected against it; and I am the more confirmed by the impertinence of all that Mr. Gale brings in answer to it; which answer of his is at

P. 152, &c. I intreat the reader to mind well. He says thus: "If the Jews washed their hands as we usually do now, by dipping them into the water, this instance turns against him, and makes considerably for us;" and then he labours, for ten pages, to prove that they did so.

If St. Luke had said that the Pharisee's wonder was that our Saviour did not baptize his hands before dinner, this answer had been sense (though I think not true); but is the washing of a man's hands by dipping them, the dipping of the man? When any one in washing his hands puts them into the water, is that man then dipped? Or had it been proper for St. Luke to say that the

Pharisee marvelled that our Saviour had not first been dipped before dinner, when he meant only washing his hands? But he does actually say he marvelled that he was not baptized:— a plain instance that St. Luke took the word *baptized* for a more general word than *dipped*. The English translators express it *washed*; but St. Luke's own words are as I have set them down.

I know Mr. Gale will stand to this: That when a man's hands or feet are dipped, the man is dipped (for he does stand to it at p. 138, 139, 146, as was before observed) and I had rather he should; for then, as I there shewed, he gives up all the cause at once. If that which the Scripture requires to be done in baptism be that the person be dipped; and if he who has any part of his body *dipped* (or, which Mr. Gale, p. 117, 143, owns to be all one, *covered with water*) be dipped, then we do all of us dip in baptism (nay we are ourselves Hemerobaptists) and there is no reason for the separation on that account.

If St. Luke by *ἰβαρτισθῆναι*, meant the washing of hands by putting them in the water, the argument will be as I here urge it; but if he meant (and if the Jews before meals commonly used) washing them by pouring water on them, then there will be still less to be said against this instance; and that this latter was their custom I brought a plain proof for the times before our Saviour out of the Old Testament, and for the times after him from the Jewish Rabbies, Malmonides, &c.; and from Dr. Pocock arguing out of them.

To the proof from the Old Testament (2 Kings iii. 11.) where it is used as an ordinary periphrasis of Elisha's having been a servant or disciple of Elijah, that he *poured water on the hands of Elijah*, he answers,

That this was long before our Saviour's time, and great alterations might happen in the mean time; and here he talks of the revolutions of states and kingdoms, and how the Jews had been conquered by the Babylonians and Romans; and you must think that they imposed new laws upon them for the ways of washing their hands. He proves also from the Old Testament

and the New, that they were an obstinate, bigotted, stiff-necked race; from whence the reader must conclude that they would not wash their hands as they should do. If this man was to write a large book, he would never want matter!

He would alter the translation, and have it to be *who poured out water for the hands*; but the Septuagint render it ἐν χειρῶν; and so does the Latin *super*; and so, I doubt not, do all the translations in the world; so that the common sense of mankind concerning the meaning of a phrase in Scripture, must be altered to serve the purpose of a separation.

He talks here of the brazen sea, and counts how many barrels of water it held; and of the laver in the court of the tabernacle; and how the priests were to wash their hands and feet thereat; but he would have it said *therein*, contrary to the text and all translations (which render it ἐξ αὐτοῦ and *ex eo*) but whether-soever it was, what is that to the people's ordinary washing before meals?

Our Saviour, he observes, poured water into a bason and washed the disciples' feet. Here he tells you what is Greek for a bason, and for the water, but cannot tell us whether our Saviour put their feet into the bason or not; nor is it material that he should; for our question is of washing hands; and that feet also were generally washed by water poured on them, appears probable by our Saviour's way of expressing it (Luke vii. 44.) ὕδωρ ἐπὶ πόδας μὲν, which properly signifies *upon my feet*.

Our Saviour, he says, poured water into a bason. We see the water was not poured on their feet, but into the bason. But does not he know that *υἱερῆς* commonly signifies those little vessels, in fashion of small cisterns, which had a cock to let out, or pour, water on the hands or feet? And he himself cites here Eustathius, where he says that *χέρυβια* are vessels that pour out water on the hands; though Mr. Gale (by a mistake which one would think such a man incapable of) translates his words quite contrary, and takes *χέρυβια* to mean not the cisterns, but the water.

In the the text (Mark vii. 3.) *The Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not*: he would have the word *πρυμῷ* to be rendered *not oft*, but *up to the wrist* (and that, indeed, is what many learned men of late have thought to be the meaning of the word) or *up to the elbow* (for which he quotes some few); this, he concludes, must imply *dipping*. It was but to say so positively; and, in short, for proof or reason for such conclusion there is none, since every body knows he can with water poured or running from a cock, wash his hands up to the wrist without dipping them.

I had said at that place that Dr. Pocock had largely proved, out of Maimonides and other Rabbies, that this washing of hands before meals, used by the Jews, was by water running or poured out of a vessel, or little cistern, or poured by some servant for that purpose. It was ill fortune that I mentioned this; for it has brought upon Maimonides and the Rabbies, and Dr. Pocock too, a great deal of anger from our author, who thinks himself no mean judge. "Dr. Pocock (he says) was a learned gentleman, &c. but really, Sir, I should have honoured his parts and learning much more if he had trusted less to those fanciful authors the Rabbies," &c. It is a pity the Doctor could not foresee this, for surely he would have altered the course of his studies. "Maimonides (he says) was one of the greatest and most judicious among the Rabbies, but a true Rabbi notwithstanding, and perfectly besotted," &c. As for the other Rabbies, he will say more of them at another place. Now, allowing that these Rabbies are fanciful and absurd reasoners (which is, indeed, their character with men of another size of judgment than our author, and with all men) and that one would not depend upon them for any matter of moment, yet can he think that they are not capable of telling what is their own custom in washing their hands? That explication of *πρυμῷ* in St. Mark (to signify *up to the perek or wrist*) was never thought of by learned men till they learned from the Rabbies that custom of washing their hands in some cases; for the word has naturally no such import. Shall

we, in our explanations of a word in Scripture, borrow the notion from a custom of theirs, and yet not believe that they had such a custom? Or shall we believe them when they say they washed to the wrist, and yet think that they themselves cannot tell how they do it, by dipping the hand, or pouring water on it?

He makes a greater matter of the difference between βαπτίζεσθαι and χειρίπλυναν, and cannot see that in this very place (Mark vii. 23.) as also in the parallel place (Mat. xv. 2 and 20, which speak of the washing before meals) the word is χειρίπλυναν; for it is χερσὶν ἀνίσχουσιν, and νίπτουσιν τὰς χεῖρας, where they speak of the same washing before meals, which St. Luke describes by ἐβαπτίσθη. And Dr. Pocock both says himself; and quotes Beza saying the same; that βαπτίζεσθαι here in St. Luke means the same as λείεσθαι and χειρίπλυναν, 'to wash, or, to wash the hands'; and that since that washing of the hands might be done either by putting them in the water, or by pouring water on them, there is [here in the text of St. Luke] a word used ἐβαπτίσθη, which comprehends both the one and the other of those ways.

He says at last,

✓ P. 158, That I have abused Dr. Pocock in my quotation of his words; yet he does not deny the words which I cited to be as I cited them; nor that he does in a great part of that long chapter shew at large from the Rabbies that this pouring of water was the Jews' ordinary way of washing their hands; but only that he observes (as he does indeed) that a Jew might, if he pleased, instead of pouring on water, put his hands into the water; and that it is likely enough that some of them did; and that the word βαπτίζεσθαι does comprehend both of these ways; "for (says the Doctor) though βαπτίζεσθαι does indeed especially [*præcipuè*] suit to that washing which is by immersion, yet that it does not necessarily mean that, nor is used only for that, I think is plain from that which we read (Luke xi. 39.) *The Pharisee marvelled that ἐπρωτόν ἐβαπτίσθη.*" *Not. Miscell. c. 9, p. 397.*

This quotation, which he brings to confront that which I brought, is one that I might have well added to mine; for it shews the Doctor's sense most plainly, both concerning the matter in general (that to baptize does not necessarily signify to dip) and also its acceptation in this particular text.

But of these last words of his, wherein he appeals to this text, Mr. Gale says "It is a downright begging of the question to instance in the very case disputed" (Oh, the man's logic!) as if Dr. Pocock had wrote that book in a dispute between himself and Mr. Gale (who was not then born) about the meaning of that word in that text; whereas he brings it in as a plain text to explain another on which he had been discoursing.

Mr. Gale has the courage thus to conclude this debate, concerning Dr. Pocock's opinion, at

P. 161. "It may be fairly gathered from the Doctor's words, that in Luke xi, 38, and Mark vii, 4, *Ban-ni-mo-sha*, does naturally and principally signify to wash the hands by dipping; which is all I desire," &c. Now, whoever shall read the Doctor's words (even as they stand in Mr. Gale's quotation, much more in those which I produced, and much more in the place itself) and shall not perceive the Doctor to say that *Ban-ni-mo-sha*, though it is for the most part used for such washing as is by dipping, yet it is not always so used, and particularly not in this text of Luke xi, 38. I would advise him to go to some private academy.

And I should be sorry to have any reader to whom it may not be safely left to judge whether any or all of these exceptions of Mr. Gale against this text do take off the force of the proof that St. Luke, speaking of a man as *baptized* when only his hands are washed, does use the word in such a sense as does not include in its signification the *dipping* of the person spoken of.

It was, however, necessary that this paragraph (on which Mr. Gale owns he has been very long) should end as the rest do with a triumph (as here, in fine, what the Doctor says from the Rabbies, &c. makes nothing for Mr. W. but rather against him), or else how

should his ignorant readers applaud, and say "That's brave for our side."

The next instance of a proof that baptism in Scripture is used for other washings beside dipping, taken from Mark vii. 4. (which I had just mentioned in two lines, but several learned men have largely insisted on) he, after his arrogant manner, treats with great contempt; and at

P. 162, wonders what I mean by producing it.

St. Mark is there reciting how the Pharisees and all the Jews do (among other traditions which, he says, they received to hold) hold the baptisms of cups and pots, brazen vessels and tables; which our English do rightly translate *the washing of cups, &c.*; but St. Mark's word is *baptisms* of them. Now, some of these things may be conceived to be put into the water when washed, but some of them cannot; and yet St. Mark calls both one way *of washing*, and the other *the baptism* of them: and so he recites our Saviour's own expression of the same thing, v. 8.

What the rest of them do oppose to this proof I know not; Mr. Gale opposes nothing material, but (what he opposes to every proof) confidence and some insulting expressions. He cites a place of Scripture nothing relating to this case, but to what the Jews were to do by the command of God (Levit. xi. 32.); whereas St. Mark and our Saviour at this place are speaking of what they did (over and beside the command of God) by their own superstition, and from the tradition of their elders; *Teaching* (as our Saviour expresses it at ver. 7, 8.) *for doctrines the commandments of men; for, laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men; as the baptisms of pots and cups, and many other such like things ye do.* What God commanded at the place cited by Mr. Gale (Levit. xi. 32) was only in case of any vessel that happened to be under any legal defilement by the carcase of a mouse, or any other unclean creature falling in it; and that if it were of wood, raiment, skin, or sack, was to be put into the water; if it were earthen, to be broken; if it



were of brass, or any other metal that would abide the fire, they were (as is ordered Numb. xxxi. 23) to make it go through the fire, and sprinkle on it the water of separation; so that brazen or silver vessels, pots or cups, were not commanded in the law to be put into water at all; and consequently Mr. Gale argues against himself if he apply this legal purification of them (which had no other use of water but sprinkling) to that which St. Mark calls the baptizing of them.

But, besides, this is not the case our Saviour speaks of. Does Mr. Gale think that he would have blamed the Pharisees or Scribes for doing any thing of this, which in such a case of uncleanness was commanded by God? The washings or baptisms here spoken of were such as had been devised by the Jews themselves to be used without the case of legal uncleanness as often (as it seems by the context) as those pots, vessels, or tables were used at any meal; at which times they were much more careful to have the outside of the cups clean than they were of the inside; as our Saviour told the Pharisee, at whose dinner he sat, and who marvelled at his omission of baptism or washing; — so different are the cases that are spoken of in Leviticus from that here spoken of by St. Mark; and yet Mr. Gale, applying them to this, urges that he has the express word of God for it.

He quotes here (p. 163) a few words in my book just at the same rate and with the same misapplication that he does the Scripture. He says of me, "He allows that the Jews did immerse the thing or person to be washed." There are, indeed, those words at the place he quotes, expressing in short what was more fully spoken of in my Introduction. Whoever reads those places will see that the case there spoken of is that of any person or thing which was by the Jews' law to have a *teuillah*, or solemn washing; their custom was to do it three times over. What is that case of a vessel which, by God's law, was to be put into the water, to this superstitious washing of vessels or tables before meals?

There is not a more palpable proof of the insincerity

of any writer than when he quotes some words of Scripture or of any author to one sense, which, if one turn to the place, do there plainly appear to be meant in another sense. As for my words, it is no great matter; but God's words is not to be so used, nor ever is, unless by men that write for a side, or for some wicked purpose.

I mentioned another instance in the same text of St. Mark, where he says, of the Pharisees and all the Jews, *When they come from market, except they be baptized, they eat not*; where common sense teaches us to understand it (as our translators do express it) *except they wash, they eat not*; for it is an inconceivable and an impracticable thing for men that live near a market, and have frequent occasions to go in and out, especially servants and officers of the market, who must go into it several times in a day, to undress and dip themselves as often as they eat.

So that St. Mark, speaking of this baptizing as used by all the Jews, does plainly use the word for such washing as is without dipping. And the Jews themselves, who used these washings, do not pretend that they used in this case any other but such washings as are without dipping, for which I quoted Dr. Pocock. Most of Mr. Gale's readers, indeed, do not know who he was, nor how unexceptionable an evidence his verdict is concerning any practice of the Jews, but learned men do know it; and Mr. Gale himself, a few pages before, viz. p. 157, had confessed that he has taken a world of labour, &c. and has shewn himself very well versed in the Rabbinical writings, which he understood, perhaps, as well as Maimonides did; and yet now mind Mr. Gale's answer here to all this!

P. 163, &c. He owns that Dr. Pocock is positive in this, that they who washed coming from market, did not dip themselves all over; and that he calls the whole body of Rabbins to his assistance, &c.; but answers "That all this is but light and inconsiderable evidence; to build all on the authority of a thousand Rabbins,"

&c.; and so he goes on to talk of the silly whimsies of these men, and the insufficiency of their evidence.

If the question were about what we ought to believe or do, or what the Jews themselves ought to have believed or done, or what washings they ought to have observed, and any body had quoted the Rabbies, or set any value on their judgment for that, this answer, shewing the shallowness of their judgment, had been pertinent; but the matter then before the Doctor, and now before us, is not what the Jews ought to have held or practised, but what they did practise. It is the silly whimsies of these men that our Saviour and St. Mark in this text are speaking of, and which Dr. Pocock in that chapter does explain. If, in a question of what ought to be held or practised, one should lay any stress on the opinions of the Quakers or Muggletonians, the argument will be weak enough; but in a question of what they do hold, the proof must be taken from themselves and from their writings; and, in this case, to answer by saying "They are an injudicious sort of people," would be so trifling and impertinent an answer, that I question whether any Rabbi or Quaker ever made a weaker.

Though I am weary, and would be short, yet I must spend two or three lines in intreating the reader to mind the absurdity and inconsequence of this way of arguing or answering [the Rabbies are a fabulous and whimsical sort of men, therefore they cannot tell us what whimsies they themselves do hold]; because Mr. Gale, in some places before this, and in some after it, spends a great deal of time in shewing the vanity of the Jewish writers, where his argument must run to that effect; or else (as the reader will observe) it signifies nothing to the matter he is answering.

We do all grant the Pharisees, Rabbins, and generality of the Jews to have been a superstitious and vain people. St. Mark says, that among other superstitions, they baptized upon coming from market to meals. If they, as superstitious and whimsical as they were, did

not dip themselves in that case, then it plainly follows that St. Mark does use the word in the case of such washing as is not dipping, and the enlarging on their folly does not avoid the force of the argument.

But Mr. Gale produces two writers who, in their comments on the place, do say that the Jews did in such cases dip their whole body. As there is nothing in natural philosophy so absurd but that some philosopher has said it, so I think there is hardly any interpretation of Scripture so improbable but that one way find here and there some one or two commentators that have given it. The magazine of *Pole's Synopsis* has furnished him with two for his purpose.

The first is Vatablus. Mr. Gale says (p. 154) "Against them [the Rabbies, and those that build on their authority] and the Doctor, I produce Vatablus, a man so singularly versed in the Rabbinical writings, &c. An apt qualification! Did his skill in the writings of the Rabbins (which was just now good for nothing) qualify him to give an interpretation concerning their practice, contrary to what they themselves do all give? But the truth is that Vatablus never wrote any comments at all on this or any other part of Scripture; only as he read his lectures, some hearers took notes of what he said, and afterwards published them; in which case, what mistakes and blunders do happen every one knows.

The next is *Grotius in loc.* concerning whom I had largely shewn by several instances (part 1, chap. viii. and chap. xi. and part 2, chap. xi.) what a partiality he everywhere discovers for the Antipædobaptists, even to the manifest altering the sense of the authors which he cites. It is the less wonder if, in his ordinary expositions, he wrested the sense of one text to their side.

But what is chiefly to be regarded in any such case of interpreters differing in their opinions or expositions of any particular point is, to mind which of them appears to have studied that particular matter most. Though Grotius was a man of universal learning, yet he, speaking his sense in a transient way in the ordinary course of

his expositions, in few words, and without any proof given, is not to be depended upon for any particular thing; so much as one that has applied himself to the study of that particular; which Dr. Pocock is known to have done, and to have written largely and accurately on that subject of the customs of the Jews, and particularly their washings, proving every thing by many testimonies; yet, after all, Mr. Gale concludes as he uses to do: — “These authorities are vastly beyond Mr. Wall’s quotation.”

But he will prove by other ways, viz. from antiquity and from the sacred text, that the Jews coming from market, dipped themselves before they eat. His readers must blush for him, to see how he does it.

Upon the place of Scripture, which he produces, he puts a broad and palpable abuse; and to call it the *Sacred Text* while he is doing so, renders the abuse the more prophane. He says “The priests were forbid to eat, unless they first washed their flesh in water.”

That, if it were true, is nothing to the market; and if the priests had done so, that is nothing to the people. It is *all the Jews* (*i. e.* at least the generality of the people) of whom St. Mark speaks; and he speaks not of any command of Scripture which they kept, but a custom of their own: but mind the text to which he refers (for he dared not set down the words) Levit. xxii. 6, where all that is commanded is, that the priests, when they had touched any creeping thing, or any man or thing that was unclean by the dead, should not eat of the holy things till they had washed their flesh in water. Now, what is all this to the people, who had not touched any creeping thing, &c. eating not *holy*, but ordinary food when they came from market?

The antiquity that he brings, is nothing but this: That there was a sect of men among the Jews who bathed themselves every day, called, therefore, *Hemero-baptists*, which has no connexion with the thing we are talking of; but only in Pole’s *Synopsis* it follows next after the fore-cited quotations out of Vatablus and Grotius; and Mr. Gale, though he was come to the end of all that

was pertinent there, yet would still write on. He values himself and his readers so little, as to spend time in quoting four or five authors for this (which I think are all quoted by Pole too) which is a commonly-known thing; and it may be collected from the authors ascribing this practice as peculiar to this sect, that the generality of the Jews did not do so. He quotes indeed Tertullian, as saying "Though the Jews daily wash every part of the body, yet they are never clean;" but he names not the place; and if Tertullian do anywhere say so, it must be accounted only an over-lashing expression, — saying of the Jews in general, what was true only of some one sect of them.

Page 166. He argues yet farther from the order of St. Mark's words. He had said in the words next before, "The Jews, except they wash their hands [*oft*, as the English, and I think, all translations read it; or, *up to the wrist*, as some learned men of late expound it] eat not," &c.; and then adds, "and when they come from market, except they be baptized," &c. Now Mr. Gale thinks that St. Mark, after he had said (ver. 3) "They eat not, except they wash their hands up to the wrist," would not have presently added, "and when they come from market, they eat not, except they be baptized," if he had not meant something more by this latter washing, which he names *baptizing*, than by the former, of washing their hands.

This observation, I confess, does confirm me in the opinion that the translations are right as they are; and that, how true soever the account given by learned men from the rabbins may be, that the Jews, in some cases, wash up to the *wrist*; yet that St. Mark had not any intention here of expressing that by the word *πλυνναι* (which has not naturally any such signification) but that he meant by it, *often, diligently, thoroughly*, or the like, as almost all men, till of late have expounded it; and, the sense and order of the words are natural. Thus the Pharisees and generality of the Jews have a superstitious opinion, that they must not eat without washing their hands *often* [over and over, or carefully]; and they

place religion in this, holding it as a tradition from their elders, and particularly when they come from market, they must wash (or be washed) before they eat.

Mr. Gale here, to prove that they washed their whole body when they came from market, runs as far as to the custom of the Mahometans; and yet, even in their customs, does not find at last any such thing. "They (he says) before they go to prayers, do wash the face, the hands, the feet; and, upon greater and extraordinary pollutions, the whole body; and so did the Jews, by God's command, wash the whole body upon some great pollutions; nor would our Saviour have blamed them for that." But neither Jews nor Mahometans do it upon a return from market to eating, nor does his author pretend that they do.

Page 167. He has yet one shift more to evade this text; but so wretched an one, as shews how hardly he is driven, viz. that the words of St. Mark should be translated another way, without any relation to washing either body or hands, and be understood thus: "The things which they buy at market they eat not, except they baptize them;" that is (as he would have it) *dip them*; and then he vaunts after his conceited fashion, "If this be the sense of the words, they are directly against Mr. Wall (thus he brings in my name to all his absurd conceits); for no body will make a question how herbs are washed." But will any body make a question whether other things beside herbs were sold at market? He should have altered St. Mark's words more yet, and made him speak of an herb-market. Does he think that wheat, meal, honey, milk, salt, &c. were dipped in water before they were eaten? It is a great abuse of Scripture to put such absurd interpretations upon it, merely to serve a turn; and because one is resolved, not to take the texts in their plain sense; but, however, this paragraph must conclude as all the rest do; whatever there be in the middle of them, they always end well; as the last words of this are, "Either way I gain my point." A few such victories will undo a better cause than his

is; and the evasion that he here again repeats and uses whenever he is at a dead lift ["that the Jews coming from market were dipped, if their hands only were dipped"] does, as I shewed before, plainly give it up.

I had cited also Heb. ix. 10, where the apostle says "The service of the Jewish tabernacle consisted *only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, &c.* divers baptisms (*διαφοροι βαπτισμοι*) is the apostle's words. Now those washings, I said, were, some by dipping or bathing, others by sprinkling; and his calling both one sort and the other *baptisms*, proves that he used the word for *washing* in general, whether it be by dipping or sprinkling.

Mr. Gale's first answer is, That though there were several sorts of washing used, some by bathing, and some by sprinkling; yet the apostle there meant to express *only the bathings*; and says,

P. 170, "That it should be translated *divers bathings* or *dippings*."

This sense might possibly be forced upon the place, if the apostle's word for *divers* were not such as does necessarily signify *divers sorts* or *kinds* of the thing spoken of. The English language uses the word *divers*, wherever one may say *many*, or *several*; as *divers* men, *divers* times, &c. meaning *several* men, &c.; but the apostle's word here (*διαφοροι βαπτισμοι*) does, both by its etymology and constant use, signify *divers kinds of baptisms, or baptisms of divers sorts*. If his word had been, that the service consisted *εν πολλοις*, or *εν πλειουσι βαπτισμοις*, it might have been mistaken, as Mr. Gale here mistakes it, for *divers*, i. e. *many* washings in number; but the word signifies *different in kind*; so that here Mr. Gale's skill in genus, and species, and *individuum* (which he seems to value himself much upon, and spills it often on every occasion) might have done him some service. Many *dippings*, one may say, the service required; but one cannot say, *many sorts of dippings*. Since then the apostle applies to his word *baptisms*, an epithet implying *several sorts* of them, it is plain that he uses the word (as we use the word *washings*) for other



washings beside dipping; and I, though I wrote but two lines on this text, set down the apostle's word (*διαβόρῃ*) on purpose, that it might prevent these two pages of Mr. Gale and this of mine.

A second answer that he gives, is in these words: —

Page 170. "However, if we grant the sacred writer designed by the words all the Jewish purifications by sprinkling as well as by dipping;" and a little after, "Granting for once, that sprinklings are included in the writer's design, yet the word only signifies *dipping*, &c.

"This you see is an invincible man; and there is no disputing with him. He having said a little before, "For I still assert, the word does always, and here too, only signify *dippings*," I see the apostle may say what he will. He will grant for once that the apostle "designs by the words *sprinkling* as well as *dipping*;" and yet will stand his ground and carry his point; and all this, when the dispute is concerning the sense in which it is taken in Scripture; therefore, let who will answer his next two pages; for there he shews how Cicero, in one of his letters (and at the foot of the page he names the very letter, and in the Index the edition) says, *Charissimæ animæ*; whereas the proposition to have been proved was this, That granting that St. Paul designs by the words *baptism*, sprinkling as well as dipping, yet the word only signifies *dipping*.

I had, in the first edition, referred to Matt. xxvi. 23, *He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, &c.* but left it out in the second; because the word there is not *βαπτίζω*, but *ἐμβαπτίζω*, which, though it be rendered and do signify *to dip*, yet not in the sense that the Antipædobaptists understand dipping, viz. to immerge the thing spoken of all over; for the whole hand was not dipped.

Now, this Mr. Gale grants, and says "The question is not about the whole, or a part of the subject; but whether the Greek word signifies only *to dip*;" and concludes, "if it be true that *βαπτίζω* does only signify *to dip*, it is all we ask; and our present dispute is at an end."

He should have minded that the word he speaks of is not in the text; but another word, which is generally by the English rendered *to dip*; whereas βαπτίζω is never in the New Testament so rendered by them.

Yet for the word βαπτίζω itself, if the dispute will end upon its being granted always to signify *to dip*, in Mr. Gale's sense of the word *dip*, I see nothing to the contrary but it may end presently. He yields his word *dip* to mean the very same thing (neither more nor less than) we mean by our word *wash*; as I shewed before in my answer to his third chapter. The same definition will serve both for *washing* and for *dipping* in his sense. It is "an application of water to the subject, or some part of it." All that I fear is, that the Antipædobaptists will not stand to the determination of this their manager; but will say he has betrayed and given up their cause. If they do all mean by dipping, no more than he has yielded it to be, it is true what he says, "The dispute is at an end." It is no matter whether we call it *washing* or *dipping*; but then the schism would be at an end too, which would be, as Mr. Gale knows, a formidable thing.

The same answer serves to take off the exceptions which he brings against the next observation that I made, viz. "That the sacramental *washing* is often in Scripture expressed by other words, beside *baptizing*; which other words do signify *washing* in the ordinary and general sense;" — and I cited three or four texts, and might have done more, where λίσω, *to wash*, and λίσρον, *the washing*, is used in the case of baptizing, which I did, as conceiving it probable that the Scripture would not in the same case of administering this sacrament use sometimes one of these words, and sometimes the other, if they were not of a signification alike as to the main. Mr. Gale's exception against this, at

Page 173, &c. is to this effect: That λίσω, *to wash*, is the general word; and βαπτίζω, *to dip*, is one kind or species of washing; so that the Scripture may well call baptism, or dipping, a *washing*; for "all dipping is

washing, though all washing is not dipping;" and here, having a great deal of time to spare, he runs out, and shews at large his learning in the doctrine of *genus* and *species* (which they that have lately gone so far, and not much farther, are very apt to do) quoting the very place of Aristotle, That the *species* contains the *genus*, but not *vice versa*.

I suppose when he studied that, he learned something of *differentia* too. If *washing* be the *genus*, and *dipping* a *species* of it, this last must have a *difference*, which, together with the *genus*, must constitute it; and in the common acceptation of the word *dipping*, it has one; but in Mr. Gale's notion of dipping it has none, as I shewed before; for there is no *washing* but will be a *dipping*, as has enlarged the sense of the word!

If he had done this without being forced to it, the men of his opinion might have been angry with him; but neither could he, nor can any man, maintain that in all places of Scripture, where βαπτίζω is used, it signifies to dip, without admitting that, or some other such like absurdity.

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## CHAPTER V.

THIS chapter seems to me to have been written, not by Mr. Gale, but by somebody else (and I think I have heard that some Dutch Minnists have had a hand in this work, — some composing one part, some another; so that he does well to call them *Letters*): my reasons are,

1, He had, at the end of the last chapter, spoke as one concluding what he had to say on that subject. — "Thus you see, Sir, how little there is in what our author says. . . . I hope I have acted very uprightly in examining *all* his instances, &c. Besides those he mentions, I have likewise considered all other instances

I could imagine," &c. &c. — and yet here this author begins again anew.

2dly, Some of the last words of the last chapter are "Such metaphorical passages as (Mat. ix. 22) *Are ye able to be baptized?* &c. and such like, are so manifestly figurative and obscure, that they cannot be thought to furnish any argument either way, and, therefore, I pass them by." — The writer of this letter, not knowing what Mr. Gale had said, not only brings the same saying of our Saviour, but several others less to the purpose than that.

However that be, Mr. Gale, the publisher, has here and there crowded my name into the dispute, and if this be not his, has owned it, by putting a line speaking of it to the tail of the foregoing.

It begins with expostulating Why I should appeal to Scripture for the sense of a Greek word; and says "The poets and grammarians can give the sense of it as well as the Scripture; and wonders that a gentleman of understanding should," &c.

Now, if he be one that does not know that the Scripture does use many words, especially those relating to the sacraments, in a peculiar idiom, and that this is observed and confessed by all readers of Scripture of tolerable learning, I am sorry I cannot return him compliment concerning understanding.

He uses arguments why God should not suffer this; which would render the Scriptures obscure, &c.; but what signify reasonings against fact? At last he concludes, at

P. 180, "to join issue with me here," that the use of it in Scripture shall determine the sense of it.

But to what purpose does this trial begin *de novo* if he knew, that Mr. Gale had tried this issue before; and had, according to his own verdict, *gained his point*?

What places of Scripture does he bring at last, where βαπτίζω is used? Not one at present; but if you will take up with places where βαπτω is used, he brings three of them. The others, where βαπτίζω is used,

shall, he says, "be taken notice of by and by;" but before he comes to them, he says here, at

P. 182, "In the mean time you see, Sir, I have said enough now to satisfy any man in the world, that the word βαπτίζω does always, without exception, signify only *to dip*." Then I would, if I were as he, never bring the places at all; for when they come, they are not half so strong as is this conclusion taken beforehand. What he brings is this: —

Origen somewhere speaks of men (ὕπὸ τῆς κακίας καταβεβαπτισμένων) "baptized [or, as this author renders it, *given up*] to wickedness."

Clem. Alex. of some who, through drunkenness, are (βαπτιζόμενοι εἰς ὕπνον) 'baptized into sleep,' — he renders it *dipped in sleep*; and at another place (Strom. chap. 3, p. 473) "We [Christians] who formerly lived in these [wicked courses] ἀπελούμεθα, have been washed; but those who *wash* themselves (ἀπολούοντες) in temperance (ἐκ σωφροσύνης εἰς πορνείαν βαπτίζουσι) do, from a state of temperance, wash themselves in fornication." He says "Dip into fornication," though λούω used twice in the same sentence, and by himself rendered *wash*, should have directed him by the likeness of the phrase, and by the apodosis, to have rendered the last clause so too.

An Antipædobaptist who should read this collection, would be discouraged, and think there are no places to be found where βαπτίζω is used for proper dipping, — since this poor author can find no better than these; but it is pretty to observe, that he does bring at last a passage of Gregory Thaumaturgus, where βαπτιζόμενος is really taken for a man in the water, sunk or sinking; and so is for his turn, if he had known how to translate it. Gregory speaks, it seems, of somebody, who ἄλλοις ὀρέγων χεῖρα διασώσοιτο, ὥσπερ βαπτιζόμενος ἀνιμώμενος, 'to others, stretching out his hand, should save them, as one that with a rope hales out men that are 'sinking in the water' [or sunk]. He renders it *immersed in difficulties*. It is pity a man should have in a collection of passages but one that was pertinent;

and not know which it was. The loss however is not great; for we own that is often taken for being in the water.

But what places of Scripture does he produce which was the thing expected?

Only these: — *Can you be baptized with the baptism?* &c. (which Mr. Gale had rejected); *and he will baptize you with the Holy Ghost, &c.* and *They were all baptized unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea*; and he says “Can these passages justify any man in denying the word signifies only to dip?” I thought he would have brought some that should justify his affirming it. Mr. Gale had better have thrown away this letter.

P. 185. That which follows here for two pages, about *vinu*, ‘to drink’; *Belgium navigare*, ‘to go to Holland’; *heredes movere*, &c. is such stuff, that if a Hollander wrote it, and thought we would read it in a question of divinity, he must think us men of great leisure and patience. At last he excuses himself for inserting these particulars, which may seem too trifling, &c. “for that Mr. Wall and others having urged them against us,” &c. — Has the man any modesty left? Did I ever urge any of these things?

P. 186. He takes here a safe course to speak something to the purpose, by saying what hundreds of learned men have said before him, of whom I quoted several. He did ill to mix it in one chapter with his impertinent remarks; for it is a serious thing, and the argument has solidity in it, to evince that where baptism can with safety to the health be administered by dipping, it should be so done. How large a signification soever the word *paritizō* may have, to signify washing in general, it is plain that the ordinary and general practice of St. John, the apostles, and primitive church, was to baptize by putting the person into the water, or causing him to go into the water. Neither do I know of any Protestant who has denied it; and but very few men of learning that have denied that where it can be used with safety of health, it is the most fitting

way ; so that where he speaks of *little frivolous cavils* that have been made against some of the texts he brings to prove it to have been the ancient practice, I know not whom he should mean, unless, perhaps, some few Presbyterian writers. I hope he will not pretend that this too is written against me, who had owned and urged the same thing in the book that he is writing against ; and, therefore, he spends time and four or five pages to no purpose, in quoting not only several ancient books, but I know not how many now or then living (Dr. Whitby, Mr. Le Clerc, Mr. Jurieu, &c.) to prove this. I suppose he thought to do the men an honour, and to gain their favour, by reciting their words with encomiums ; and from one of them he has obtained his purpose. However, it is a frivolous thing for men to quote one another for a thing that is confessed by all.

But whereas he carries the argument farther, and says to this effect (p. 186) That the practice of St. John, the apostles, &c. has determined the signification of the word as it relates to the sacrament of baptism. That cannot be ; for *βαπτίζω* may signify washing in general, though they used ordinarily that particular sort of washing ; as in the other sacrament, when Christ gave the bread and wine, and commanded his apostles (and in them all Christians) to eat bread and drink wine in remembrance of him. This does not determine the sense of the words *eat*, *drink*, *bread*, *wine*, to all the particular circumstances then used ; as that *bread* must signify only *unleavened bread*, or just such a degree of fineness, or such a quantity of the bread as they did then eat ; or that eating and drinking must signify only such eating and drinking as is, after supper, in an upper room, and on a passover night, &c. ; — so our Saviour's command here has no more than the general word *baptize* or *wash* ; and John's washing him in a river does not determine the sense of the word to any particular circumstance then used ; as the quantity of water, a river, one of thirty years old, &c.

Our Saviour seems to have used in his command

the general words *eat, drink, wash*, that he might not determine any particular circumstances which may, in some cases, happen to be impracticable.

As to the manner of baptism then generally used, the texts produced by our author, and by every one that speaks of these matters (John iii. 23; Mark i. 5; Acts viii. 38) are undeniable proofs that the baptized person went ordinarily into the water, and sometimes the baptist too. We should not know by these accounts whether the whole body of the baptized was put under water, head and all, were it not for two later proofs, which seem to me to put it out of question.

One, That St. Paul does twice, in an allusive way of speaking, call baptism *a burial*; which allusion is not so proper, if we conceive them to have gone into the water only up to the arm-pits, &c. as it is, if their whole body was immersed.

The other, The custom of the Christians, in the near succeeding times, which being more largely and particularly delivered in books, is known to have been generally or ordinarily a total immersion of the naked body; and that (as this author observes, and I had shewn) thrice repeated.

But no man will pretend that this practice has limited and determined the sense of the word *baptize* to all these circumstances. Mr. Gale himself would not have it limited to a total immersion, nor most of the *Minnists*.

This was the way ordinarily used; but none of these evidences does evince that it was the only way then used, without exception for any extraordinary case of sickness, tender constitution, coldness of season or climate, or of haste, want of a sufficient quantity of water, and many other cases which may be supposed, or rather must be supposed, sometimes to happen.

For, 1st, As to the argument from St. Paul's allusion to a burial, if it were the *ordinary* way to bury the baptized person in the water: that is abundantly sufficient to ground an allusion upon. Such metaphorical speeches are never taken to be strictly argumentative



in respect to all the particulars, without exception. The apostle in those two places styles it *a burial*; but in one of them (Col. ii. 12) he calls it *a circumcision* (*the circumcision of Christ*, i. e. appointed by Christ, or a *Christian circumcision*) in more direct words than he does a burial; for he is there satisfying the Colossians that in Christ they are sufficiently circumcised, &c. being *by the circumcision of Christ, buried with him in baptism*; yet from this place the men of our author's kidney cannot see that baptism must have any likeness to circumcision at all; but a burial it must resemble in all cases, without exception, for any cause that is ever so reasonable; but these are arguings, not of men that desire to be guided by Scripture, but that plead for a side. Besides, Mr. Gale, and those that allow of a partial dipping, to be the *dipping* of the man, must find out some such interpretation for *burying* him too, or else they must not urge this allusion so close as they do.

2dly, Another reason that from those few instances of baptism by the apostles, which appear to have been administered by going into the water, we should not absolutely conclude that they never, in any case of necessity administered it otherwise, is taken from the practice of the ancient Christians, who lived nigh after their times, and had much better means than we have of knowing how the apostles or their deputies managed in such cases, and would not have used clinical baptism to the sick and weak (as I shewed that they did) if they had not had reason to judge that the apostles did the like in such cases, though it be not recorded in Scripture, — there being no instance in Scripture of any one at all baptized in cold countries, nor of any baptized in sickness, which yet must often happen.

3dly, A main and chief reason is, because our Saviour has, as I said, given a rule (Matt. xii. 3, 4, 7) that what is necessary to preserve life, is to be preferred before outward ceremonies. This author grants, at

P. 196, That "this foundation is certainly very good;" but to shew that he makes this concession to an

ill purpose, he adds, "And they might from hence justify their forbearing to administer this sacrament at all." What is this but straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel? Our Saviour has expressly commanded every one that would be saved to be baptized; and every one that enters into the kingdom of Heaven, must, he says, *be born again of water*, &c. Now, shall any arrogant mortal determine that this need not be? and in cases of necessity, where the person cannot have it in that way that he thinks the fittest, not let him have it at all? God Almighty, in the time of Moses, determined otherwise in the case of the passover; and so did Hezekiah afterward. "The antients (he says) who introduced affusion, seemed unwilling to carry the matter so far. In present danger of death, they thought it necessary that all should be made partakers," &c. — God Almighty keep us in the same modesty and awe for our Saviour's commands that the antients had!

P. 197. From this place forward to p. 200, he uses a ridiculous and tedious argument (wherein his own comparisons make against him) all built on a supposition that I should say That it is perfectly indifferent, in all cases, which way baptism is administered, whether by immersion or perfusion; and then fights against that supposition with arguments taken from *The Toleration Act*. The reader will have the curiosity to see by what wonderful faculty he can fetch any thing thence to this purpose; and if he do, he will see a specimen of the gentleman's talent in that way.

But the supposition is all his own. I never said any such thing. In the book that he had before his eyes, I do plainly grant, and even urge it, that dipping, where it may safely be used, is the *most fitting manner*. — Part 2, chap. viii, and in the next chapter, had spent several pages to shew the *preference* of that before the other (except in cases of danger to health); and that preference owned by all churches (except the Roman and Genevan) and particularly by the Church of England. In the management of his argument, he to-

serves, that a law should not be interpreted by the exceptions that are made in it. True; not in ordinary cases; but in the excepted cases it should.

P. 201. He treats St. Cyprian with his usual dirt, as freely as he does any of us; and for no other reason, but because a letter of his is yet extant, wherein he gives his opinion to one that had asked it, that perfusion or aspersion, in cases of necessity, is sufficient baptism; of which letter I gave a copy. Presently, this writer falls into a fit of slighting and vilifying, in his arrogant way, that great bishop and martyr; as arguing after a frivolous manner, &c.

Whoever reads it, will see that St. Cyprian's reasons, "That the main thing in baptism, in God's sight, is the dedicating the person to God and his gospel: that the contagion of sin is not washed off by the same measures that the dirt of the skin is, &c.; so that there should be a necessity for a large pool, &c. It is another way that the breast of a believer is washed, that the mind is sanctified," &c. are much to the same purpose at St. Peter's saying *Baptism saves us; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but, &c.*; and, as St. Paul says, *The niceties about meats, &c. have not profited those that have been exercised therein; but he that in the main things serveth God, is accepted of him*; so St. Cyprian argues, "That many who are baptized in sickness, when need so requires, are freed from the unclean spirit, and do live commendably, &c. and do, by the increase of faith, proceed," &c. This certainly is the substance; and the quantity of water with which one is washed, is but the outward ceremony; yet our author, beside a great deal of other contemptuous language, says "He determines the matter, not only without, but directly contrary to the whole tenor of the New Testament;" — as if the whole tenor of the New Testament were about the quantity of water in baptism; but indeed this way of braying, hectoring, and vilifying any adversary (be it a Cyprian, or be it a Quaker, it is all one with him) is the best

tool that this disputant has. Take this from him, and a much weaker man than a *father* might stand the brunt of his arguments. He, at

P. 204, confronts St. Cyprian with an argument from one of the forementioned texts that speaks of burial (Rom. vi. 2, 3) *So many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death; therefore, we are buried with him by baptism into death.* "This (he says) is as plain as words can make it, that all without exception," &c.

He is fain to patch two propositions into one to make his argument; but the direct answer is, That St. Paul had not in his aim there the way or manner of baptism; and, therefore, the phrase *so many as*, so far as it respects the metaphor of burial, is used (as the word *all*, in Scripture, very often is) in a sense that includes the generality, but not always *all without exception*.

P. 206. He excepts against the quotations which I had brought from the antients for baptism by affusion, in cases of sickness or other necessity, as being too late, 150 years after the apostles.

This, for want of any better defence, and because he cannot deny the facts, is said only to make a colour in the eyes of an ignorant reader; for all men of learning do know, and he himself knows, that this is an early date for any quotation, and especially for any thing that concerns the ceremonial parts of religion, the few books that are ancients being taken up with matters of faith, practice, and exhortations to constancy, &c. too much to have any thing in them of the quantity of water used in the baptism of sick people. He himself will fill his pages with authors much later than St. Cyprian's time, and boast of them, if they speak of baptism by immersion, as he does in this chapter; and Mr. Gale recommends the evidence of the three first centuries to determine this controversy.

P. 207. He observes, as I had done before him, That men, baptized in sickness by affusion, were, by the rules of those times, not admitted, if they reco-

tered, to holy orders; and makes a very ignorant blunder in translating a passage in Petavius to that purpose, p. 208.

Petavius says, "They that were so baptized, *were accounted irregular.*" This author, not knowing the meaning of the word (though it be of very common use in church-laws, to signify *one incapable of orders*) translated it *such were thought irregularly baptized.* That ran in the man's head.

He should also have owned the true reason why such were *irregular*, not for the manner of their baptism, but because they would not take baptism till they were affrighted by approaching death. This is both by some of the antients, as I shewed, declared to be the reason, and is of itself of such weight as to make a good reason; for there is not nigh so good ground to hope well of a profession of faith and repentance first made in a fright and by necessity, as there is of a voluntary one; whereas the other is but a ceremonial difference.

And whereas he argues (p. 208) That the canon of Neocæsarea, which I cited, being eighty years after that time, could not influence the judgment of the church at that time: I grant it; but that canon did not enjoin that as a new law, but established it as an ancient canon or rule of the church; which Mr. Gale might have observed from the words of Eusebius, which himself cites, who, speaking of the times when Novatian's case was debated, says *ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔξόν ἦν τὸν ἐν κλίνῃ διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα εἰς κλῆρον τινὰ γενέσθαι.* 'It was not lawful that any one, who, by reason of sickness, was baptized in his bed by perfusion, should be taken into any office of the clergy.'

He might have seen this to be their reason by what himself cites of the *History of Novatus*, written by Cornelius, if he had understood, or would have rightly applied the words. Cornelius there gives an account to Fabius how this Novatus had been a Heathen; and that the occasion of his believing was, his being possessed with a Devil for a long time; in which he being something helped by the exorcisms [or prayers] of

some Christian priests, would be baptized before he died; and having gone on to tell what sort of Christian he made in his conversation afterward, a trickish, juggling, and forsworn fellow, &c. and afterward returning to speak of his baptism, which he took in that fright of approaching death, and had so abused afterward, he says "He received it by affusion in his bed, as he lay (εἶγε χρὴ λέγειν τοῦτον εἰληφέναι) if it be fit to say that such a one as he received it at all;" where the stress of Cornelius's doubt or question concerning his baptism, is plainly grounded on the ill temper of the man's heart, and his receiving it by fright and necessity, and his ill life afterward, and not on the manner of washing.

I gave here the instance of St. Lawrence out of Wal. Strabo, baptizing with a pitcher of water in a case of necessity; and of Basilides, out of Eusebius. To which he says nothing. Neither did I say that Novatian's case is the earliest (as he falsely quotes my words); but that *that*, and the rest there given, are some of the earliest.

P. 209. He brings in Constantine's baptism to no manner of purpose; for though he says of his own head, that Eusebius affirms "That he was not baptized in his bed, but, as was usual, in the church called *Martyrium Christi*, in the ordinary way,"—there is nothing of that matter said in Eusebius; only that he went to the suburbs of Nicomedia, called together the bishops, and desired of them baptism. Ὅτι δὲ τὰ νόμιμα τελόντες, &c. 'And they performing the ceremonies, put in execution the divine ordinance, and made him partaker,' &c. ὅσα χρὴ προσδιαστείλαμενοι; which I render 'Having enjoined [or required of him] such things as ought to be enjoined,' i. e. the baptismal professions.

Now, from which of these expressions he concludes the immersion, I know not. I am afraid, because Eusebius says in the next words, "And so Constantine, the only man of all the emperors that ever were Χριστῷ

μαρτυριοις ἀναγεννώμενος, being regenerated in [or by] the testimonies [or ordinances] of Christ, was baptized." This translator concludes, from μαρτυριοις Χριστοῦ, that he was baptized in a church called *Martyrium Christi* (which name whether any church at Nicomedia had, I know not) we must not suspect such a thing of Mr. Gale; but I question, as I said, whether this letter be his; but if it were so (as I think it probable he was baptized in a church) might it not be by perfusion, if he was very weak? Neither was he so weak then, but that he had lately travelled from Constantinople thither. If he was baptized in a church, that makes a good proof that he was not baptized by immersion, but, as sick men were wont, by affusion of water on his face; for Mr. Bingham has well proved, by several ancient testimonies, that in those times the κολυμβήθραι, the cisterns or pools made for people to go into at their baptism, were not in the church, but in an out-building, called Βαπτιστήριον or Φωτιστήριον, at some distance from the church; and indeed it cannot well be conceived that such large ponds of water as they ordinarily had, for hundreds of men to go in at a time, could conveniently be made in the body of the church.

Page 213. He brings in an English Council in the year 816 (which I had helped him to) that children should be dipped in the font; and presently adds, "But what need is there to urge this?" None at all, since he wilfully left out the word *infants*.

P. 215. He makes a great reach to fetch in a compliment (which I take to be a begging one) for Bishop Burnet. He takes a saying of his, "That the danger of dipping in cold climates may be a very good reason for changing the form of baptism to sprinkling;" and says "This excuse is now become common, and has gathered considerable force by being used by men of his Lordship's good sense and learning." Fulsome! Was it ever omitted by any who, before he or the bishop were born, have pleaded for perfusion? As for *sprinkling* indeed, I am content that he should be counted one of the first of the Church of England whoever recommended it.

After all, he brings not one word of refutation of the bishop's reason from the coldness of the climate. There is nothing else here, save that at

P. 213, He repeats, as he had three or four times before, that slander on me which I mentioned, "That I do pretend that baptism may be administered *indifferently* in any manner." I think he judges That a false thing, by being often repeated, will become true. I have always held and taught, that where it may with safety be administered in that way of dipping, which St. John and the apostles in those hot countries used, that way ought to be preferred. In cases of haste, want of a quantity of water, or danger to health, pouring of water to be sufficient; and indeed, in the case of danger of health, the best way; for *God will have mercy, and not sacrifice*. As for *sprinkling*, I say as Mr. Blake did, at its first coming up in England, "Let them defend it that use it."

Our Saviour gave his last supper in unleavened bread. Many churches do, therefore, prefer that; but all (even those that use it) will agree, that when that cannot conveniently be had, it is sufficient to receive it in common bread. That common bread ought to be as fine and white as conveniently can be gotten (for such, no doubt, the passover-bread was); but who will say that, in cases of necessity, a coarser sort is not sufficient? The essence of the symbols, as to religious use, and our Saviour's true meaning, does not consist in these things.

The Scripture recommends *pure* [or clean] water for baptism (Heb. x. 22); and such, no doubt, is the fittest; yet the Antipædobaptists, who stand so much on the *quantity*, are easily satisfied with the *quality* of the water, when (whether for necessity or choice, I know not) they use the water at Horslydown, and such like puddled places. Shall any one start up a new schism among them, and endeavour to persuade some of their ignorant people that their baptism is invalid, because their "bodies were washed not with pure water" (which the Scripture speaks of) but dirty?



P. 214. This chapter concludes, like all the rest, with a boasting triumph. "Thus have I made it plain that the word *Baptizō* always signifies only to dip, or plunge;" and he has the confidence to say "That he has proved it from the constant use of it in the New Testament;" whereas he has not brought one word of sense to weaken the proofs to the contrary, that I brought from the New Testament, and particularly that from Luke xi; but he has a new way of gaining his point, as he calls it. He sets up an image of a judge of his own making (whom he calls *Sir*); and to him he makes a bow, and says "You see, Sir, that I proved it all." Then the image, I suppose, gives a gracious nod, and so the case is decided. Should not the Antipædobaptists rather set up somebody that might write, as Mr. Tombs and Mr. Stennet did, better sense in more modest expressions, — stronger reasons with less declamation? Would not that convince any rational inquirer sooner than this vaunting and insulting way, which always puts more in the conclusion than was proved by the premises or middle terms of the argument? — a way that never prevails upon any but weak reasoners, and men prejudiced, right or wrong, for a side.

If this letter were writ by another, and sent to Mr. Gale, he accounted it imperfect, — as wanting an ornament with which all his are graced; and that is, a fit of railing at the clergy of the church. He would not have it omitted here, and, therefore has inserted it even after the aforesaid conclusion. He observes,

P. 214, They allow that dipping was the ancient manner, in all common cases at least; and have wished that this custom might be again restored among us here in England, as it continued till about Queen Elizabeth's time;" and then presently adds two falsehoods.

One, the aforementioned one repeated again: — "Why, after all these concessions, do they pretend it is indifferent?"

To order dipping in all cases where the party may well bear it, and pouring of water only, where he can-

not (as the Church of England does) is not to pretend it indifferent.

The other follows it at the heels: — “ They continue in the constant use and practice of *aspersion*, &c.; and defend it, in opposition to *immersion*.”

To defend *aspersion* in opposition to *immersion*, is as much as to say or maintain that aspersion is fitting, is lawful, &c.; but immersion is not; or to refuse, or dissuade people from the dipping of their children, though the parents own them to be able to endure it; which, whether any clergyman in England has been ignorant enough to do, I know not. If he has, he has gone contrary to his promise of conformity to the Liturgy; but to affix this upon the clergy in general, as he does, is for certain a notorious reproach and untruth. Beside two lesser untruths in that one sentence: — One, in saying *aspersion* (which the church does not allow in any case) instead of *perfusion*; — the other, when speaking of the clergy in general, he calls it their *constant use and practice*; whereas several clergymen have prevailed on some of their people to have their children dipped in baptism, as the Rubric directs; and some of the people have of themselves desired it, and it has been practised accordingly.

But none of these expressions have as yet come up to Mr. Gale's usual stain; therefore, after much rambling talk on this matter, he, at

Page 216, expresses it thus: — “ So that, notwithstanding their pretences, it is to be feared the clergy are a great cause of the corruption, and its continuance; ” — and in the Contents, he says positively, “ They in reality obstruct its [the ancient practice] being revived.” That I take to be Mr. Gale's own language; and it resembles the style of an Observer, or Flying-Post.

To what he would here beg, That we should take *Barro*, to dip or dye, instead of *Barriżw*, the Scripture word, I gave answer before.

Now, I have gone through the work that this writer has dragged me into, by putting my name to the top of his pages, and here and there into his reasonings about

matters in which I was concerned as little as possible; and almost half his book is over before he comes to speak of infant baptism, — the history whereof was my only subject; and he has gained this advantage, that he has made me weary before any trial of that begins.

If I do give any of my sentiments concerning the difficulties which the clergy do find in bringing the people to that way of baptism, which the Rubric orders, in the case of children that may well endure it, I would not have it taken as spoken in answer to this man's insolent demand; for I think that when one in his station does, in a malapert and factious manner, demand of his superiors an account of the reason of their actions, as if he were a bishop or a judge over them (as he does here) "Why do not they take proper methods? Why do they continue?" &c.) he deserves no other answer than such as the Pharisees used to have from our Saviour to their haughty and ill-meant interrogatives.

But if I may be admitted, in a submissive manner, to take this opportunity (which is the last I can have) to give to my brethren of the clergy a scheme of my thoughts on this difficulty,

I must own, in the first place, that many of the clergy seem to be of the opinion of the late Bishop of Salisbury (whom Mr. Gale here quotes) that the coldness of our climate is a good reason to change *dipping* into (*sprinkling*, he says; but a respect for the Rubric would have directed him to say) *pouring* of water; in the case of all children weak or strong, and of all weathers, warm or cold, for so they seem to mean.

To these brethren, I have no more to say than to propose these few things to their consideration: —

That our climate is no colder than it was for those thirteen or fourteen hundred years from the beginning of Christianity here, to Queen Elizabeth's time; and not near so cold as Muscovy, and some other countries, where they do still dip their children in baptism, and find no inconvenience in it:

That the apparent reason that altered the custom,

was, not the coldness of the climate, but the imitation of Calvin, and the Church of Geneva, and some others thereabouts :

That our reformers and compilers of the Liturgy (even of the last edition of it) were of another mind ; as appears both by the express order of the Rubric itself, and by the prayer used just before baptism : — *Sanctify this water, &c. and grant that this child now to be baptized THEREIN, &c.* (if they had meant that pouring should have always, or most ordinarily have been used, they would have said THEREWITH) ; and by the definition given in the Catechism of the outward visible sign in baptism, *Water WHEREIN the person is baptized.* I know that, in one edition, it was said “ Is dipped or sprinkled with it.” I know not the history of that edition ; but as it is a late one, so it was not thought fit to be continued. The old edition had the prayer before said in these words, *Baptized in this water :*

That if it be the coldness of the air that is feared ; a child brought in loose blankets, that may be presently put off and on, need be no longer naked, or very little longer, than at its ordinary dressing and undressing ; — not a quarter or sixth part of a minute :

If the coldness of the water, there is no reason, from the nature of the thing, no order or command of God or man, that it should be used cold ; but as the waters in which our Saviour and the primitive Christians in those hot countries which the Scripture mentions were baptized, were naturally warm by reason of the climate, so, if ours be made warm, they will be the liker to them. As the inward and main part of baptism is God’s washing and sanctifying the soul, — so the outward symbol is the washing of the body, which is as naturally done by warm water as cold. It may, I suppose, be used in such degree of warmth as the parents desire :

2. As to those of the clergy who are satisfied themselves, and do in their own minds and opinions approve of the directions of the Liturgy, and would willingly bring their people to the use of it, it is too apparent

what difficulties lie in the way ; so that this quarreller has no ground, in his assuming way, to demand why they do continue, &c.

The difficulty of breaking any custom which has got possession among the body of the people (though that custom be but of two or three generations) is known and obvious ; and there being a necessity of leaving it to the parents' judgment, whether their child may well endure dipping or not, they are very apt to think, or say, *Not* ; and there is no help for it ; for none, I think, will pretend that the minister should determine that, and dip the child whether they will or not. He can but give his opinion, — the judgment must be theirs ; and they are for doing as has been of late usual ; but there are, beside this general, two particular obstacles, which it may be fit to mention : —

1. One is, from that part of the people in any parish who are Presbyterianly inclined. As the Puritan party brought in this alteration, so they are very tenacious of it ; and as, in other church-matters, so in this particularly, they seem to have a settled antipathy against the retrieving of the ancient customs. Calvin was, I think (as I said in my book) the first in the world that drew up a form of Liturgy that prescribed *pouring water* on the infant absolutely, without saying any thing of *dipping*. It was (as Mr. Walker has shewn) his admirers in England who, in Queen Elizabeth's time, brought *pouring* into ordinary use, which before was used only to weak children ; but the succeeding Presbyterians in England, about the year 1644 (when their reign began) went farther yet from the ancient way ; and instead of *pouring*, brought into use in many places, *sprinkling* ; declaring at the same time against all use of fonts, baptistories, Godfathers, or any thing that looked like the ancient way of baptizing ; and as they brought the use of the other sacrament to a great and shameful infrequency (which it is found difficult to this day to reform) so they brought this of baptism into a great disregard. Now, I say, a minister in a parish, where there are any considerable number inclined to this way, will find in

them a great aversion to this order of the Rubric. They are hardly prevailed on to leave off that scandalous custom of having their children, though ever so well, baptized out of a bason or porringer in a bed-chamber, — hardly persuaded to bring them to church, — much farther from having them dipped, though ever so able to endure it.

2. Another struggle will be with the midwives and nurses, &c. These will use all the interest they have with the mothers (which is very great) to dissuade them from agreeing to the dipping of the child. I know no particular reason, unless it be this: — A thing which they value themselves and their skill much upon is, the neat dressing of the child on the christening-day, — the setting all the trimming, the pins, and the laces in their right order; and if the child be brought in loose clothes, which may presently be taken off for the baptism, and put on again, this pride is lost; and this makes a reason: — so little is the solemnity of the sacrament regarded by many, who mind nothing but the dress, and the eating and drinking; but the minister must endeavour to prevail with some of his people who have the most regard for religion, and, possibly, their example may bring in the rest.

The consequence that would follow from baptizing children ordinarily by this old way, would, I believe, be this, That the schism of Antipædobaptism would dwindle and cease. My reasons are,

One which I mentioned in my book, That most of the people that have scruples about their baptism (as far as I have observed, and it has been my fortune to be often exercised in discoursing with such) do not near so much question the validity of their baptism for that it was received in infancy, as they do for that they were not dipped, or put into the water; for which they see so clear examples in Scripture.

But what is far more considerable than any experience of mine, is the observation that may be made from the history of this schism, wherever it has arisen. —

The Greek Church, in all the branches of it, in Europe, Asia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, which has always preserved the custom of dipping infants in baptism that were in health, and able to bear it, has accordingly never been molested with any disputes about infant baptism; nor ever has any Antipædobaptists been heard of among them. In the Latin Church (which is for extent of countries, and, as I think, for number of Christians, much less than the Greek) as France was the first country that left off dipping in the ordinary baptism, so there it was that the first Antipædobaptists in the world (the Petrobrusians, about the twelfth century) arose. Germany and Holland afterward had their share of trouble with this sect; but not till they also had, almost generally, left off the dipping of infants. England all this while kept to the old way; and though several times some Dutch Anabaptists came over hither during those times, endeavouring to make proselytes here, yet Fox, the historian in Queen Elizabeth's time, declares that he never heard of any Englishman that was perverted by them; so that Antipædobaptism did not begin here while dipping in the ordinary baptisms lasted. Then, for two reigns, pouring water on the face of the infant was most in fashion; and some few of the people turned Antipædobaptists, but did not make a separation for it. They never had any considerable numbers here till the Presbyterian reign began. These men (out of opposition to the Church of England, I think) brought the external part of this sacrament to a less significant symbol than Calvin himself had done (for he directs pouring of water on the face) and in most places changed pouring to sprinkling. This scandalized many people; and indeed it was, and is really scandalous; so partly that, and partly the gap that was then set open for all sects that would, to propagate themselves, gave the rise to this; which I therefore think, as I said, would, upon our return to the Church of England way, cease. However, they cannot upbraid the pourers or sprinklers with the novelty of that

fashion, for, as new as it is, it is older than their religion in England is. This history, with the annals and proofs of it, I gave more largely in my book, part 2, chap. ix.

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## CHAPTER VI.

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HE first lays down an absurd supposition: — If Mr. Wall had argued such and such things (which things are nonsense) and then adds “Of the same kind exactly are the two main foundations of infant baptism; I mean the celebrated arguments from original sin and from circumcision.” I would have any one that does not know this author to guess at the make of his face by this, and such like insolent speeches of his.

The Scripture and our own woful experience makes us sensible of our original corruption, which needs cleansing and forgiveness; and as baptism is the sacrament of cleansing and forgiveness, the Christians in all ages have understood it to have that effect in infants whom the same Scripture and experience shews to have that corruption innate in them as well as others, except Pelagius and a few followers of his, who used infant baptism for other purposes. This has been discoursed largely by several of the ancient Christians, particularly St. Austin, in large volumes.

And so likewise the Scripture speaks of our baptism as being the Christian circumcision, or the *circumcision of Christ*, Col. ii.; and as circumcision belonged to infants, as a seal of entrance into covenant with God, and baptism has the effect of circumcision, the consequence of its belonging to infants is by Christians, ancient and modern, largely deduced.

Now here steps up a new author, who thinks to overthrow these doctrines by mocking at them, and at all the



**Christian world**; and, with a scornful smile at such trifling foundations of infant baptism, puffs them away at one breath, and in three or four lines. A vulgar reader presently thinks, Surely, this is a great scholar! Yes, or else a very proud and assuming boaster, such as is described Prov. xxi. 24.

He says, These two arguments have been often baffled.

Was there ever any Antipædobaptist that pretended to answer (to name no more) those books of St. Austin (which I mentioned) against the Pelagians, which, though not written to prove infant baptism (which no Christian then denied) yet do prove original sin to be the doctrine of the Universal Church from its practice of infant baptism, and so do shew the connection between the two doctrines? So far have they been from answering or baffling, that I believe none of them (except perhaps Mr. Tombs) ever read them.

P. 221. He comes to me; and, after a smoothing compliment, he in the next words sets up against me one of the falsest accusations and most abominable calumnies that in all the seventy years of my life was ever thrown upon me by any lewd or slanderous tongue or pen. He makes me a teacher of false doctrine, contrary to the principles of the church of which I am a member, and contrary to what I have always taught therein, and contrary to what I declare in many places of the book he had before him: a doctrine that was never maintained by any Christian (beside the Antipædobaptists themselves) but by some late Papists, viz. That I freely allow that it cannot be made appear from the Scriptures that infants are to be baptized.

He has in the foregoing parts of his book used many uncivil taunts and reproaches, unhandsome and rude expressions, and such as (considering from whom they come) may well be called arrogant; some of which I have noted, some I passed by. He also spent his two first chapters on my character, as he calls it, picking up from any hands pitiful personal stories of no moment to the matter in hand, nor indeed to any thing else but

to shew a temper that is by all men counted scandalous and contemptible in a writer of controversy. But all these I count as nothing in comparison of this impudent slander.

His way is (as I noted before in another instance) the fals<sup>er</sup> any thing is that he says, to say it over and over again so much the oftener. This, therefore, being a notorious untruth, and contrary to what he saw with his own eyes, and to what he must think the reader would see, needed to be repeated a great many times to make it pass; and he does repeat it at least twenty times in this one chapter; all which repetitions are so many —

I shall recite some of them. I thought to have set them down all, that they might fly in his face; but it is too tedious and loathsome: I will note the pages of them all.

P. 221. The words I now recited. P. 222, Having quoted some of my words (but those curtailed) he adds, "All which is, in short, to grant that infant baptism cannot be proved from Scripture." P. 223, "You may be pleased to observe his concession, which is a very unhappy one for him." P. 224, The same slander again: "Mr. Wall confesses," &c. P. 225, The same repeated three or four times. P. 227, "Mr. Wall has ruined his whole design by what he lays down at first; for if infant baptism cannot be found in Scripture, as he confesses," &c. and another in that page of the same. P. 228, 230, More of the same. P. 231, "Pædobaptism, which Mr. W. confesses cannot be proved from Scripture." P. 232, Over again. P. 233, "Mr. Wall, or any man who owns infant baptism cannot be maintained but by the traditions of the church, and yet practises it." *Ibid.* Over again. See more P. 235, 239, 243.

If I had said any such thing as these accusations amount to, I ought to take shame to myself; but if all this be notoriously false, the Antipædobaptists ought to disown such a defender of their cause as could not do it without the help of a gross untruth in matter of fact at the beginning, and to take care to employ next, one

that, beside a faculty of declaiming, has learned to speak truth.

I have been forced, by this foul and importunate cavil, to look over those places of my own book where I do enforce the proof of infant baptism from several texts of Scripture; for though I declared in the Preface "That the arguments from Scripture for each side of this controversy having been so searched, and so often bandied to and fro, that not much more could be said to illustrate them," my purpose was to take it for my task to write the history of the practice of the ancient Christians in this matter; and accordingly, I, as an historian, did in many places forbear arguing from Scripture; yet in some other places where the fathers, whose words I recited, did quote or refer to such texts of Scripture as do naturally confirm the doctrine of infant baptism, it was necessary for me, in the notes on such passages, to shew how those texts do agree with and illustrate the discourses of those antients. Hence it came to pass, that though the main scope of my book was history and not argument, yet I did (occasionally and by the way) bring many proofs from God's word, which stand as so many evidences of the falsehood of this foul charge against me.

I need not repeat them, because Mr. Gale's readers must of course have my book; or else they read an answer to they know not what, for he does greatly misrepresent it. I will refer to the places.

On the text (Matt. xxviii. 19) *All nations, &c.* I shew that it ought to be understood of all the persons of which the nations are composed, infants as well as their parents; and do endeavour to clear this sense from the evasions of the Antipædobaptists. Introduction, and part 2, chap. x.

Of that saying of our Saviour (John iii. 3, 5) I have spoken more often and more largely, because the ancient Christians do hardly ever omit it; and shewn that it concerns all persons, infant or adult, and can be understood in no other sense than to mean or denote bap-

tism, nor ever was otherwise understood by the ancients; and that the new interpretation of Calvin and his followers (who expound the *water* mentioned there by our Saviour quite away) is unreasonable, far-fetched, and Quaker-like. Introduction, and part 1, chap. ii, iii, vi; and part 2, chap. vi and x.

The proof from circumcision (which was appointed to infants) and that St. Paul does call baptism the Christian Circumcision (Col. ii. 11, 12) I do urge and apply part 1, chap. xi, where Justin Martyr himself applies it so; and likewise part 2, chap. x.

The command of our Saviour, that infants should be brought to him (Mark x. 13, &c.) is insisted on, part 1, chap. iv; and at the same place I shew that infants are expressly ordered to be entered into God's covenant, from Deut. xxix. 10.

And in a larger manner than the rest I do enforce to this purpose the argument from 1 Cor. vii. 14.; and having learned from the fathers the ancient interpretation of that text (which to a diligent reader of the place will, I think, appear to be the true one) I do shew the reasonableness of that interpretation (which directly proves the children of those Corinthian Christians to have been baptized) and its agreement with the scope of St. Paul's discourse in the context.

I have had the acknowledgment of some great and learned men that I have been instrumental in retrieving and confirming from the ancient Christians the true sense thereof, which had been unobserved by most moderns, and misapplied by the Antipædobaptists to a very improbable, jejune meaning, inconsistent with the scope of the place. This was visible in my book, part 1, chap. xi, xv, xviii, xix; and part 2, chap. x.

These proofs from Scripture Mr. Gale had not only seen in my book, but spends a great part of his in confuting and answering them as well as he can after his way, which renders the falsehood of his saying *that none were pretended by me*, absurd as well as slanderous.

I had also, long before Mr. Gale wrote, published a

little treatise on the question of infant baptism, wherein I insist chiefly and almost only on Scripture proof. I cannot be sure that he had seen it, but he will hardly persuade any one used to such sort of writings that he had not; because those that write against any book do generally take into consideration any other book written by the same man on the same subject (but he, indeed, would not take notice of so much as my second edition of the same book). This also might have contributed to discourage him (if he had been troubled with modesty) from saying a thing of me which the world knows to be false; for two editions, of about 2000 each, of that little piece were then extant.

However, there is in what he had before him enough to have made him ashamed to say in the contents of this chapter, and repeat it so many times in the chapter itself, "Mr. W. allows it cannot be made appear from Scripture. He owns it cannot be shewn to be founded in Scripture, nor be maintained but by the traditions of the church; that the Scripture is silent in the case."

He himself at one place in the chapter (p. 225) owns enough to have shamed himself, and stopped his mouth from repeating the slander again and again afterward. He says there that I do suppose (so he in his proud and contemptuous manner calls my proofs) "that in some general expressions infants are to be included, as in the commission (Matt. xxviii. 19) and perhaps in some other passages, and in John iii. 5;" which, he says, I reckon the plainest argument for infant baptism.

Why then does he in all the chapter afterward say confidently that I own that there is no proof [or argument] at all from Scripture? There needs no judges or witnesses; his own mouth condemns him of falsehood in that accusation.

He says of my proofs that they are but suppositions at best; and that to affirm infants are intended as well as adults, is begging the question, and asserting the thing instead of proving it.

But, good Sir, that will not save or bring off your truth; for you here deny my asserting it. Whether a

writer does solidly and effectually prove his point from Scripture is one question, and whether he does disclaim any Scripture proof, and confess there is none, is another. If I say of any one that brings texts of Scripture for proof of a thing, and applies them as well as he can, that all his texts and arguments upon them do not amount to a good or full proof, that may be true, or it may be false, and be only my ignorance, or incapacity, or prejudice, or haughtiness, and confident censure. But if I say positively, and repeat it, and stand to it, that such a man does own and confess that there is no Scripture proof for it, I am an open and barefaced liar.

Therefore, let that point be decided first, the matter of fact whether I owned that there is no proof from Scripture; then, afterward, of the validity of the proofs there may be time enough to debate. I should not value myself much upon it if it should be thought they are (though set down, in short, as being not the proper business of that book) such, as the man whom you propose to write an answer to my book cannot solidly confute. From you, Sir, I do not expect it, since I have seen your faculty of reasoning. If a loose veil of disclaiming would do it, you might be the man.

In the next page (p. 226) Mr. Gale says of me that "All that I pretend to is, not that I see it [infant baptism proved by Scripture] by any necessary inference, but only that probably it may be comprehended in some of the more general passages."

The reader might have guessed at the truth of this tale by his telling it so many several ways. Is it not intolerable (I may appeal to his own favourers) that an answerer of a book should take the liberty to affix and impute to it what sayings soever he shall forge, and then run on in descant, and triumph upon those his own forgeries? If he had said that the proofs which I bring are in themselves only probable, that, as I said before, might have been debated. Some of the inferences from Scripture are less, and some from other places are more plain.

But to say that all that I pretend to from any or all

of the places is, that I see no necessary inference (plain enough, I mean, to satisfy the conscience of any sincere inquirer of tolerable learning and capacity) is an injurious perverting of my words, especially when he backs and improves this falsehood by saying absolutely, in the following as well as foregoing parts of this chapter, that I confess it cannot be proved from Scripture.

He makes me by saying so, say that in earnest which (as I shewed) the late Jesuits say, out of a politic and wicked design to puzzle all Protestants and promote this schism. If the reader please to turn to part 2, chap. viii, he will see that, near the end of that chapter, I do charge and prove this upon the Papists, that they have of late taken upon them to say that infant baptism cannot be proved from Scripture, but only the custom and traditions of the Church; that the old books of the Papists, till about eighty years ago, do constantly prove it by Scripture; and what a weak thing it is in the Antipædobaptists to be caught by this bait of our common enemies! and is it credible after all this that I should maintain the thing myself?

Now I have shewn sufficiently that what he charges me with is a heinous thing, and how contrary it is to the tenor of my book, — let us see what are his proofs on which he grounds this accusation; and the way of managing his evidence is such as must needs shame him as much as the foulness of the charge itself.

He first quotes to this purpose three pieces of sentences in the first page of my Preface; which page I desire the reader to peruse, and see the tenor of the whole sentence.

One is this: I am there making what excuses the matter would bear for the doubts of the unlearned men among the Antipædobaptists; and, after some other things, do say "That the commission (Matt. xxviii. 19) is set down in such brief words, that there is no particular direction given what they were to do in reference to the children of those that received the faith.

This he recites (p. 221) without any very material alteration of my words; but reciting them again (p. 225)

he basely alters them, and makes me say That there is nowhere any particular direction, &c. and adds some words to the end of my sentence; those last indeed not very material; but the putting in the word *nowhere* is, a very gross forgery, and a very material alteration; for it is one thing to say There is no particular direction concerning such or such a point of Christian practice in Matt. xxviii, — and a very different thing to say There is *nowhere* in Scripture any such direction. Let any one judge whether this man is to be trusted to quote the words of his antagonist, and then draw odious conclusions from them.

My own words are no more than any Pædobaptist will say; they do not import that our Saviour, in the command of baptizing *all nations*, is not to be understood to mean *infants* as well as *men* and *women* (which I endeavour at other forecited places of my book to shew that he did) only that they are not particularly there named (for those are my words, *no particular direction*) as indeed neither men nor women are, but only the aggregate word *nations*.

Much less do they import that in no other place of Scripture there is proof that infants were or ought to be baptized; there are many proofs of it beside this commission, and which do help to explain the commission; the tenor of the whole Old Testament that infants were (before our Saviour's giving this commission) all along received into covenant with their parents, and were expressly ordered so to be (Deut. xxix); and those other places of Scripture which I just now mentioned as having been urged by myself; and that *the blessing* [or covenant] *of Abraham is come on the Gentiles*; which blessing or covenant of Abraham had plainly this advantage, to have the children entered into it; and many other places brought by those who purposely insist on Scripture proofs.

So far are those my words (that in Matt. xxviii. there is no particular direction about infants), from implying what he says, "*I confess that there is nowhere any proof from Scripture.*"



My next words are, "And among all the persons recorded as baptized by the apostles, there is no express mention of any infant; nor is there, on the other side, any account of any Christian's child whose baptism was put off till he was grown up, or who was baptized at man's age."

Of this he recites one part, and very unfairly leaves out the other; for all the question now in our time being about the children of Christians, whether they are to be baptized in infancy or afterward; my words, as they stand, make the failure of proof from the instances of persons baptized by the apostles, equal on both sides as to any that were born of Christian parents, infant or adult; for the apostles lived to see many children of Christians thirty or forty years old; and yet there is no express mention of their baptizing any such at their adult age (which by the way is a great sign they had been baptized before in their infancy); Mr. Emlyn might (if he had been as immodest as Mr. Gale) as well have charged me with confessing that there is no proof from Scripture for baptizing those who had Christian parents at all, as Mr. Gale can charge me with what he does here; he did not so; he only pretended to draw consequences of his own, that children of Christians need not be baptized at all; he did not say that I confessed it. If Mr. Gale had done no worse than so, I might have blamed him for weak arguing, not for an unfair account of my words.

But suppose the first part of that saying of mine had stood without the latter part, could any modest man have taken it for a concession that there is no Scripture-proof? &c. Among the few persons recorded expressly and by name, as baptized by the apostles, there is no mention of any infant (as in the life written of any great bishop, archbishop Laud, &c. I do not think there is): does it follow from thence that their baptizing of infants, or ordering it to be done, is not implied by circumstances as the baptizing of households? &c. *Express* mention (which is the word I use) were as much as to say in so many words, they baptized such or such

an infant ; but there may be sufficient proof of a thing by circumstances without such express mention.

But, however, to say I confess there is no Scripture-proof, is to say I confess there is no proof from those recorded examples of the apostles, nor from any other place of Scripture ; which, that I should ever say is, I am sure, a very great falsehood, and there follows one worse yet.

In the same page (where I am still making excuses for the mistakes of such who, for want of learning or reading, fall into doubts, or (as I express it) contrary sentiments concerning infant baptism) I say "That the proofs drawn by consequences from some places of Scripture for any one side of this question, are not so plain as to hinder the arguments drawn from other places for the other side, from seeming still considerable to those that have no help from the history of the Scripture times for the better understanding the rules of Scripture."

This wretched quoter recites one half of this sentence, yet in that half leaving out those material words, *for any one side of this question*, and then cuts it off at the word *considerable*, where there is no stop, not so much as a comma, and leaves out *to those that have no help*, &c. and presently adds, "All which is, in short, to grant that infant baptism cannot be proved from Scripture."

This is right Danvers, or worse than Danvers ; for if I say "The exceptions made by the Antipædobaptists against the Scripture proofs for infant baptism may seem considerable to ignorant and unlearned men ;" and another quoting my words shall take the liberty to leave out the last words, and conclude that I *confess* or *grant* that there are no good Scripture proofs for it, all faith or credit to one man repeating the sayings of another is lost and destroyed ; for it is a very different thing to say An exception or argument is, or seems, considerable, meaning by its own real weight or force ; and to say It may seem considerable to ignorant men. When an ignorant man reads that our Saviour was baptized at thirty years of age, and many in heathen countries at their

adult age, it may seem to him a considerable argument that infant baptism was not then accounted lawful; for he thinks, if it were, why had not these men been baptized before in their infancy? But what are learned men appointed teachers for, but to do this office among others; to make such an ignorant man understand the history of those times, that Christian baptism was then but newly instituted, or but newly brought into those countries, and therefore they could not have received it in their infancy?

Besides all this difference, to say There are exceptions against a proof which do *seem considerable* (which was my word) is not presently to grant those proofs to be no proofs. Many texts of Scripture, and many other propositions, have objections against them that may *seem considerable*, and yet do remain *true*. So weakly does he argue, as well as falsely quote.

There is another saying of mine which he at his

P. 224 recites from near the end of my book; it is too long to copy out his words and mine at large. The reader may see them in his book. He falsifies the import of my words by perverting the sense of them as much as in the other instances. I am there mentioning the advantages which the Antipædobaptists do take in their public disputes before a multitude of vulgar people. Having plain places of Scripture concerning adult baptism, and several examples of it, they work much on such of the people as had not minded this before, &c.; and in accounting for the mistake of the force of the argument from thence, do say "That, in a nation newly converted to Christianity (and such are all the cases mentioned in the Scripture) the adult people must be baptized first before their infants can be baptized. The improvement he makes from hence is,

"Mr. Wall confesses *all* the passages in Scripture relative to the baptism of adult persons." Utterly false: I said "They have plain passages for adult baptism;" he makes me say "All the passages." I said that in such a state of a nation newly converted, the adult persons must be baptized first before their infants.

He represents me as confessing that the Scripture gives no proof of the baptizing their infants at all. The ignorant multitude, of which I there speak, are apt to think that we do by our principle deny adult baptism ever to have been used, or that it ever should be used, and consequently that every example in Scripture of adult baptism is an argument against infant baptism; whereas we do from those plain places and examples of Scripture urge the necessity of baptism to an adult person that has not been yet baptized, as much and more than they do (for they will suffer a sick man that cannot bear dipping to die without it); they would have the multitude to think those examples to make against us, when really they do not at all. Now then let any one judge whether that my saying "There are plain places of Scripture concerning adult baptism" be any better proof than the rest of my owning that there is no proof of Scripture for the other.

Having now recited all the evidence he brings against me for that vile accusation, I desire that I may have the justice allowed me to charge him home with the falsehood of it; and because Col. Danvers had a great name, and Mr. Baxter, making a comparison between him and one Bagshaw (who, it seems, was notorious for this faculty) said, Mr. Bagshaw is now quite overdone in the quality of untruths, let us for this purpose compare some of the worst of Mr. Danvers's untruths with this of the writer before us.

Mr. Danvers would falsely recite or pervert the sense of some old author, so that by his management of a sentence, and making his own consequence from it, and then setting down that consequence as the author's words, or what that author confessed, some old council or author would speak Antipædobaptism; but he never, that I remember, had the face to do this with a book that he was answering or writing against. He would never say that Mr. Baxter, for example, said, confessed, or owned, what he did not say or confess. Good reason; for his readers were supposed to have Mr. Bax-

ter's book to compare, whereas the old books they would hardly ever examine.

Another difference : — That gentleman understood Latin but very indifferently, and might mistake the sense ; which cannot be said of our author, whose talent is philology.

So that, upon the whole, I should think that Mr. Gale has won.

He thinks he exposes me to some contempt, when he relates how I asked pardon of one whom I conceived I might have wronged (who it seems told him of it, — so greedy have they been to pick up frivolous stories) ; but I would advise him, if he have wronged any one to such a degree as he has me in this untrue accusation, to ask his pardon, or else to read and apply to himself what our Saviour says in Matt. v. 23, 24, 25, 26. As for doing it to me, I shall excuse him by giving it beforehand, — only for the vindication of the cause and myself. I would have the truth of the matter of fact fairly examined ; and I do not care if it be done by those of his own opinion, who have any due regard to common justice.

This pretended concession of mine is the ground-work of all this chapter of his ; and all the rest is a declamation and triumph, upon the supposal that “ we have no Scripture-proof to plead, — that the Scripture is wholly silent concerning infant baptism ; ” twenty other ways that he has of expressing it ; and to give him his due, grant him that and he can go on, and build consequences upon it strenuously enough, and approve himself a very *wordy* author ; but that foundation being taken from him, all the superstructure falls of itself ; so that I have no more to do with this chapter than to make a few remarks on here and there a passage.

P. 220. He says “ The Antipedobaptists have been taken for a strange sort of people ; but now the world is persuaded they are not that unreasonable and mischievous sect they were represented to be ; ” — but the good opinion that was had of their sincerity is something.

lessened again by his unfair way of defending their cause ; so far, I mean, as one man's foul dealing can go to reflect a discredit on the general body, which does not go very far ; for I believe a great many of them do disapprove of his disingenuous representations of things ; and where he, in the next page, wishes " a more impartial and learned examination of these matters might be seriously entered on," it must be then with some better regard to truth than he has shewn, lest it come (as Mr. Baxter complained it did in his days) to *Thou liest*, — and *Thou liest*.

Page 227. " They must not surmise, but *plainly* shew us that infant baptism is indeed contained in the Scriptures." Some writers, and particularly some of the Antipædobaptists, do carry their demand of *plainness* in the Scriptures to such a degree of peremptoriness, as is inconsistent with that awe and reverence which is due to God's word. We must take his word as it is, and not arrogantly demand why he did not cause such or such things to be expressed plainer, that there might have been left no possible room for cavils, doubts, or exceptions. Some things therein are so ; but that some other things (even of those which God would have to be done) are not expressed with the same degree of plainness, that must be concluded by circumstances, &c. is confessed by all readers of it.

We must, in such cases, use humility and diligence in reading, weighing, comparing the several texts, and consequences from texts, or from the nature of the thing itself ; and if from all these there be light enough to satisfy the conscience of an impartial inquirer, that such or such a thing is our Lord's real meaning, we must do it without cavilling. If a master give a command to his servant, in short, *to take care of his flock*, shall an arrogant servant excuse himself, that he did not in the commission *particularly* name the lambs ?

Now, what we say of the plainness of the proof from Scripture for dedicating and entering our infant children (as well as ourselves) into the covenant of God in Christ (without which there is no salvation either to infants or

adults) and giving them baptism, the seal thereof, is this : — That there is in God's word so much proof of this being our duty, as may satisfy the conscience of such an inquirer as I spoke of, — though not such as will stop the mouth of an importunate and undutiful caviller. If, upon such weighing and consideration, the reasons from God's word *for* the doing any thing do clearly overweigh those that may be brought *against* the doing it, our duty is to do it.

Page 228. " Which [baptism of adult persons] is a thing very rarely seen or heard of now in the greatest part of the Christian world, their traditionary Pædobaptism being substituted in its room ;" — and should not such a matter of fact (setting aside his invidious epithets) startle the conscience even of a confident man, to see his opinion, concerning the sense of God's word, condemned by *almost all* his brethren of the Christian world? — *almost all* in this age, and *quite all* in most former ages. Can they think that there were not, or are not, in any or all the national churches, that are or ever were, any that can judge of the meaning of God's word? They should mind how St. Paul speaks to some among the Corinthians, who were very self-conceited :— (1 Cor. xi. 16) *If any be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God*; and again (eb. xiv. 36) *What! Came the word of God out from you? — or came it unto you only?*

Page 230. " Our author, at his ordination, declared upon oath his free and full assent to the Articles;" and again (page 232) " All the clergy, — their free assent upon oath." This happens to men that will talk confidently of things they understand not. The clergy do subscribe the Articles; but not at their ordination, nor upon oath. The exception that he here makes against mine, or their adhering to the doctrine of them, is too apparently frivolous, (being founded on his foregoing untruth) to need any notice.

Page 236. He seems here to be writing for a *place*. I thought that some of them had gratified him for his pains, — that he needed not to bring in any by aims

into a book of controversy; but how, if that great man should read his second chapter (page 81, 82, &c.) where he would understand himself to be (as Mr. Gale pronounces the verdict upon us all) "no true member of a Christian church, not baptized; one with whom it is not fit to have any communion," &c.

Page 239, speaking of the subjects of baptism, "And those you have already seen, Sir, Mr. Wall himself allows to be the adult only, as far as the Scriptures can go to inform us of the matter." — This is one of the twenty I spoke of; but tell me, Mr. Gale, did your *Sir* give his nod to this too? I can hardly think it of him. If he did, it is like pleader, like judge.

This calumny (since he stands in it thus) and some of his others, are of such moment, and are such direct falsehoods, that it may be needful for me to do as Mr. Wills did against Mr. Danvers, viz. To put in an *Appeal* against him to his own brethren; and I do in good earnest desire any of the Antipædobaptists, who are lovers of truth, and do scorn to have their cause defended by base methods and untruths in matter of fact, to examine, and give their opinion concerning this conduct of his. What I have to say to the body of them, any other reader may, if he pleases, pass over, as a thing not concerning him.

I desire them to try, and judge, and declare whether he has not done an open injury to me, and the truth, and indeed to the credit of their cause, by this falsehood of which I have been speaking; and (because I would not incumber them with an inquiry into *all* his misrepresentations) by two more.

What he affirms positively, over and over, through this chapter ["That I do confess, or own, or allow, or grant, that infant baptism cannot be proved from Scripture"] I charge upon him as a falsehood. Let the places of my book which he quotes, or any other that he can find to prove this my *Concession* (as he calls it) be considered and canvassed. Please to observe, gentlemen, that the verdict or judgment to be given in this case, is not Whether there be, or be not, in your



opinion, proof from Scripture for it? — but, Whether I have said or granted that there is none? — and if I have not, you see where the falsehood rests.

Of the other two things, one is, where he says “That I do industriously take all occasions to blacken the Antipædobaptists, and render them the objects of resentment and contempt;” and a great many other odious charges to the same purpose: his way being, as I said, where a thing is untrue, to repeat it over and over. These are to be seen in his 20th, 21st, and 22d pages; and again, at page 46, where he refers to a page of mine; which page, if any one read, I desire them to mind whether I say any thing of *countenancing*; and whether I do not say “There are but few of them in England that hold that error;” and again, at p. 50, where he speaks of me as “representing and judging of the whole body by the singular opinions of a few particular men in it;” which I did not do; — and again, at p. 55, “That I load them with some of the most infamous and hated opinions;” and instances that of the Socinians; and says “I insinuate as if they countenanced such;” — whereas I neither say nor insinuate any such thing; but do say the direct contrary (and he had seen it, and quotes part of it) “That they that profess it openly are rejected from their communion.” I begin that paragraph thus: — “Socinians they have some that creep in among them;” and end it as he says; and had, in my second edition, p. 449, mentioned a decree or resolution of their general body for that purpose.

If any Antipædobaptist will mind what expressions I use when I speak of the general body of them (as in those places of the Second Part of my book, which, in the first edition, are pages 216, 279, 280, 288, 402, 403, 404, 416. In the second edition they are pages 430, 453, 454, 460, 549, 550, 551, 554, 561) he will see how falsely Mr. Gale represents the character that I give of them; and, in reading that second edition, every body will observe that what I could learn concerning their several tenets, by discourse with Mr. Stennet

(who gave me better information than I could get elsewhere) I have carefully and candidly inserted it.

When my second edition was in the press, a good while before that chapter concerning *The present State and Tenets of the English Antipædobaptists* was printed off, I wrote to him, being then unknown to me by face, to this purpose, That, however different our opinions were concerning what ought to be held or practised, yet that in an *historical* account of what they *do actually* hold or practise, I was desirous to be informed by themselves; and accordingly desired him to read that chapter, and give me his observations on it; but before he could well answer, I having occasion to go to London, called on him. He received me very kindly, acknowledged that I had treated the Antipædobaptists more civilly than had been usual; said that he had not yet written any thing of what I had desired; but that if I would take pen and ink, he would, as he read the several paragraphs, tell me what he thought might be added or altered, which I might set down in short notes. I did so. He did not pretend, as this man does, that I had said any thing false of their tenets; but, in many places, where I had said "Some of them" hold so and so, he told me 'There were but few, and those of least repute, that held so.' I inserted in the several paragraphs the notes I had taken from his mouth, as may be seen in the second edition. As at p. 432, "And I have received of late a credible account," &c. P. 435, "I am told by one that should know," &c. What I say (p. 436) "I think it is but few in England," &c. stands as it did. He made no exception or addition to that (p. 445) "I am lately assured, by a man of chief note," &c. P. 447, "But this account of Danvers," &c.; and another like note, at the foot of that page. P. 451, 452, there is a more exact account of the office of "teachers, messengers, representatives," than I had *had* before; and what he could tell me, that tended to the clearing of Hicks, I added as a postscript, p. 481.

Now, what I desire in justice is, That such foul words

as Mr. Gale uses against me on this point (as where he says (p. 55) "If indeed the things he taxes us with were true, &c. But they are so notoriously false, that I admire any man, especially of Mr. Wall's order," &c. may be examined, and he required to shew the falsehood, or else to take the guilt, and shame, and imputation of it to himself; and that to that purpose, what I have said above, in answer to his first and second chapters, viz. to his 20, 21, 22, and 46, 47, 55, and 56 pages, may be considered; and that they try whether they can fairly bring off this defender of their cause from the imputation of using base means to do it; and if not, consider how far they will approve of him.

I suppose he spread this character of me, on purpose to keep the Antipædobaptists from giving any impartial regard to what I said, or produced from antiquity (for no man hears willingly one that hates and belies him); but I hope they will search carefully where the lie is to be fixed.

The other is, That which I mentioned above, in my answer to his long discourse from p. 77 to 84, where he represents the sense of my words in a manner so gross and absurd, as to make it as bad as his other way of falsifying words.

In my *Dissuasive from Separation*, part 2, chap. xi; I have argued, That Christians, whose opinions do not differ in fundamentals, ought not for other differences to separate or renounce communion with one another (owning at the same time that they that differ in fundamentals must separate); I gave there several reasons why the difference between Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists should not be accounted a fundamental one; from the Scripture; from the Creeds; from the case of Tertullian and Gregory Nazianzen; from the declared sense of many of the most noted men both of the one and the other side of this question, particularly of Mr. Tombs, Mr. Stennet, and of those 100 churches of Antipædobaptists whose *Confession* is published 1699, and another 1701. With these I there argue, That they ought by their principle to hold communion with

the church of the place where they live, in prayer and in the other sacrament, even on the supposition that their opinion be right; that giving baptism to the adult only is the fittest, and though they continue in that practice themselves. My reason is, Because the difference is confessed by them not to be fundamental; and this wretched perverter of my words declaring himself for the other *uncharitable* opinion, says "We (meaning himself, and I know not who else) do hold it to be fundamental; and that none but persons dipped at their adult age, *are* true members of the Christian church; and that none else are baptized;—and Mr. Wall supposes us in the right in all this, and yet would have us unite with persons we are persuaded are not baptized," page 82;—and p. 80, says of me, "That I always proceed on this supposition." I had indeed said That there were some few such uncharitable men among them, who say (much as the Donatists did, and Papists do) that none are Christians but themselves; but any one that reads the place will see that it is with the other (the main body of them) that I there argue, that they ought (even supposing their way of baptism to be in itself better) to join with the church in other duties.

Let the men to whose honesty I appeal, judge if this be not a base abuse of my words! The others slander he repeated about twenty times: this, I think, about ten. Let them say whether such tricking imposture be to be used in arguments for religious matters!

Worse than this. He, at p. 80, calls it my *Concession*. I never made a concession that the other, the charitable sort, are in the right in their opinion; but only a supposition, or putting the case that they were even so.

All this while, though he pretend to answer that chapter of mine, he takes not a word of notice of what I there produce from the Confession of the 100 churches, and from Mr. Tombs, and Mr. Stennet declaring the contrary to what he here declares to be the sense of the Antipædobaptists. I believe indeed he does not like them; but I wonder that saying of Mr. Stennet

[“The reproach which Mr. Russen casts on them (the Antipædobaptists) viz. That they judge none of the true church, but those of their own way”] did not fly in his face and down to him, while he was setting me forth as a *reproacher* of them; for, by Mr. Stennet’s account, it is he, and not I, that casts a reproach upon them. I shall never forget what Mr. Stennet told me (which I recite, second edition, page 447) “That the country where I live is full of such of them as are of the least repute; for I see that the Antipædobaptists in many other parts of England do speak and argue much more like Christians than this man.

These three instances of his conduct I do lay before the Antipædobaptists, for their approbation or disapproving; and I think it concerns the credit of their cause, and the reputation of their sincerity, to declare one or the other of them.

When their hands are in, and his book is before them, it will, I know, be much expected of them to declare their sentiment concerning Mr. Gale’s notion of *dipping*. Whether a thing or person be *dipped*, if a small part of it (as the nib of a pen) be dipped, or covered with water? A fair stating of this, and their free declaring their opinion, may go a great way toward adjusting and ending many contentious disputes. The pages where he treats of this (page 117, &c.) I noted above. In favour to that notion of his I would give my humble advice, that they take this consideration along with them, that, without the help of it, they will never be able to maintain that the word *baptize* does always signify *to dip*.

Page 239. “And our author himself has recourse to it so frequently.” I thought I might have done with that grating complaint; but here is another necessary occasion given;—another thing said of me that is utterly false; for he is here speaking of some who use a *miserable cavil*, that “Christ has nowhere forbidden them to baptize infants; and, therefore, they infer they ought not to neglect it.” He spends four or five pages in a trifling manner to expose this cavil, and exemplifies it by comparisons:—“Why does not our author bap-

tize persons after they are dead, since the Scripture does not expressly forbid him?" The Scripture does not say "to the contrary, but that such a clod in a field is Adam's body; nor that the Roman is not the only true Catholic Church;" and such rambling impertinences; but at page 243 he says he will give "an instance some thing nearer to the matter in hand. . . We are nowhere forbid to baptize our cattle, bells, tables," &c. &c. &c.

But I will give an instance nearer yet. We are forbid to —; for this (as said of me, that I have frequent recourse to this argument) is no other. I had argued in my Introduction to this purpose, That there having been before Christ's and St. John's time a custom to baptize infants, we must not say that they altered any thing, or that Christ bade his apostles alter any thing from the usual way, unless we had proof from Scripture that they did so; and where Christ uses general words, *All nations, — every person*, we must not make exceptions, unless the Scripture do; and I produced Dr. Lightfoot's words to that purpose; but this is nothing like the *cavil* that Mr. Gale speaks of; but has a direct contrary tendency; yet he, without any regard to truth, imputes it to me; and goes on with aggravating the absurdity of this cavil (which he feigns me to use) till at last he has heated himself to that degree of foul language as to say, at

Page 243, "If our author argues well, and the Scripture's silence be sufficient reason for a thing, he ought, in honour and conscience, to return to Rome."

Most young men that are brought up to learning, are at the same time taught and inured to rules of civility, good manners, and to forbearing of scurrilous language. I wonder how Mr. Gale has attained the one of these (for he has indeed a good faculty of philological learning) and yet seems never to have been taught any thing of the other. Some of the country clownish disputants, when they are got on some heath or common, one into one waggon, and the other into another, to brawl against one another before a rabble, are apt, after some provoking language, to say "Get

you gone to Munster, from whence you came, all of you ;" and the other to answer, ' Do you return to Roine ;' — but in a printed book of a learned man, I have seldom seen such stuff before as in this ; and in the next paragraph, " Our author ought to follow his example," &c. especially if the occasion was not real, but feigned, as it is here, and no provocation given. As to any given by me, I was so unfortunate as never to have heard of Mr. Gale before he wrote ; and for the Antipedobaptists in general, I am confident (and will refer it to any impartial reader) that what Mr. Stennet observed is true, That no book written in this dispute has been freer from any provoking or abusive expressions ; but he has, in this very chapter, forged out of his own brain several things to fix upon me ; and then pursues the consequences of those forgeries with reproaches, such as are never used (at least without a preceding provocation) but by very ill-bred men ; but why does he repeat this about three or four times ? — for it is as false as any of the rest.

I will not hastily believe of the Antipedobaptists, many of whom (I have once said it, and will not yet go from it) are a " sober and grave, quiet and peaceable sort of men ;" therefore, I will not believe of them that they, perceiving that the history which I wrote of infant baptism, did, by all the testimonies which are to be found of the ancient Christians, shew their practice and doctrine to be *for* it ; and that the summing up of the evidence did turn (whether I would or not) *against* their tenet ; and that they were not able to bring any candid writer that could fairly contradict or overthrow the credit of the testimonies produced, did, therefore, contrive to set up against me one of their fierce creatures to bait me. I rather think they were mistaken in their man ; for they might easily judge, that the satisfying the conscience of a doubting Christian (which is all that controversial books are good for) does not depend upon declamation and harangue, or an assured and master-like way of talking, much less upon picking up stories, and making personal reflections on the writer ; and less yet

upon forgeries; taunts, and foul-mouthed reproaches. Any history (and mine was nothing else) can be answered no other way, but by shewing the evidence of the facts or sayings to be either not true, or not pertinent; which has been the least part of this author's aim. He has not pretended or attempted to answer in that way any more than the five first chapters, — not one-tenth of the whole evidence; and we shall see, when we come at it, how that is done.

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## CHAPTER VII.

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WHEN I read over the first ten pages of the chapter, I was under some difficulty in what method one must begin an answer to so long and rambling an argument, the force of which does all depend upon something which (at page 250) he says he will discover by and by; but when I came to page 256, I was eased; for there he says of all before, "But these are trifles. A more material objection is yet behind." I thought he never spoke a truer word; and should have been content to let them pass as such.

But they are indeed worse than *trifles*; for he cannot forbear to bring in, by head and shoulders, a malicious accusation against King Charles the First, at page 248, "That all people thought he gave private instructions to his fleet sent to Rochelle, that they should not assist the town;" and another false one against me, at page 256 (which I think may be the fortieth or fiftieth of that nature) that I "do insinuate more than once that the commission (Matt. xxviii. 19) relates peculiarly (that is, as he presently after explains his meaning, *only*) to the adult." His confidence at some times is not strong enough to affirm that I *say* such or such a thing (which I wonder at) and then he says that I *insinuate* it.



His evidence against the blessed martyr is one Leti, who, I suppose, knew nothing of the matter, but only echoed what the rebellious party then in England said; and yet at last does not say near what Mr. Gale does; and against me he quotes my book (part ii, page 378; 379; in the last edition it is page 531) which whosoever reads over, be he Pædobaptist or Antipædobaptist, and does not see that I am so far from saying or *insinuating* what he says, that I endeavour to prove the direct contrary (viz. that infants are meant as part of the nations) that man and I shall never agree about the sense of plain words.

His boasting of his performance, which is not omitted in any chapter, takes up a good part of this. He begins it, "I hope, Sir, I may venture to say, that what was urged in my last" [that was where he argued from the concession which he had forged in my name, of the Scripture's silence] "amounts to little less than a demonstration." It does not quite, it seems, amount to a *demonstration*; but I can tell him what it amounts to quite; and at page 249, "The steps that I take are easy and sure, according to the method in use among the mathematicians; and, therefore, I may well enough call it a *demonstration*." It were really adviseable for him to study something of the mathematics; for he could never then allow himself to argue so loosely as he does. The demonstration (all of it that is pertinent) comes at

Page 252, 253, &c. The words of the commission, "*Teach* (so he translates the word μαθητεύσατε) *all nations, baptizing them*, &c. are equally said of all, without difference or exception. From whence it follows that the same things are to be done to all; and that too in the same order." Then he infers to this purpose, "but the adults must be taught *first* before they be baptized; therefore, infants must either be taught *first* (which is impossible) or else not baptized." This is the substance; for it is impossible to bring his demonstration into a syllogism.

And it is just as strong as this other would be. The commission, *baptizing them in the name, &c.—teaching them to observe, &c.* runs in the counter order; and, therefore, demonstrates the direct contrary,—*may*, not so strong; for here the word διδάσκοντες does certainly signify *teaching*, and nothing else.

As strong as this: — That command (Exod. xii.) *Let all his males be circumcised*, is given for all males, in the same words; therefore, if the adult males must be taught the meaning of that seal of God's covenant, before they receive it, — so must the infant males also; or else not be circumcised.

P. 256. To shew that all persons in the nations are not meant, he instances in unbelievers, blasphemers, Atheists, debauchees, &c. Now, these are that sort of persons whom our Saviour came especially to call; and sent his apostles to convert and baptize them. It is true, that if they would not be converted, they must not be baptized. The reason is, That they themselves did in such a case put a bar, which is not the case of infants.

R. 258. He gives as great an instance of pride and insolence, as one shall almost ever see in any haughty ill-bred young man. He attacks Mr. Dorrington, a grave divine, in a most contemptuous manner, for no other reason but his publishing a book to prove infant baptism from Scripture; and particularly from this text, Matt. xxviii. 19, calling him “an author that affects wonders, and his whole book is one; in which he undertakes to prove infant baptism from Scripture;” and he concludes, “If the rector of Wittersham had better considered, he would not have exposed himself by the publication of this book.”

Has he, in the midst of his haughtiness, forgot who he himself is? — and that a rector of Wittersham (which term he, according to the custom of ill-bred men of these times, uses in contempt) is a much better title than any he can pretend to? — or does he think things are come to that pass, that the schiamatics shall publish what they please against the doctrines of

the church, and it shall not be allowed to the ministers thereof to write the defence of them from Scripture, without being publicly insulted for so doing? Sure, that is no part of the indulgence intended to Dissenters by the present toleration. It was so, perhaps, in Oliver Cromwell's time.

If he do not know that all others (as well as Mr. Dorrington) have been used to prove infant baptism from Scripture, why have the Antipædobaptists set up one to write that has read nothing of what has been said before on the subject? Has not Mr. Baxter, for one, a large book? — *Plain Scripture Proof for Infants' Church - Membership and Baptism*. Colonel Danvers speaks; and I from him, of a Papist, who, going to hear a dispute about infant baptism, told his friend he was "going to hear a miracle, viz. infant baptism proved by Scripture." This has been counted an instance of a shameless Papist mocking the Protestants; — but we see he is imitated.

He abuses Mr. Dorrington and me, both in that one paragraph; — either of us, I suppose, old enough to be his father. Him, for undertaking to prove it from Scripture; and me, by repeating again the aforementioned vile slander, "That I own," &c.

At p. 259 begins the long dispute, of above sixty pages, about the signification of the word μαθητεύσατε (Matt. xxviii. 19); whereas to the argument for infant baptism, taken from that text (which is in the English, *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.* — teaching them to observe, &c.) viz. that infants are part of the nation, and so to be baptized by this commission, the Antipædobaptists do retort, and say Infants are such a part of the nation as are not capable of being taught, and so not to be baptized. I had answered in half a page, That the word which is translated *teach*, in the first of those clauses, has a peculiar signification in the original; and is not the same word as that which is translated *teach*, in the second; but signifies much like what we say in English, *To enter any*

one's name as a scholar, disciple, or proselyte to such a master, school, or profession; and that the Jews' language, as it does not admit of this phrase, *An infant is taught or instructed*, so it very well allows of this other: "Such or such an infant is *entered a disciple, or made a proselyte* to such a profession or religion;" and I instanced in those children of proselytes which, when they were, together with their parents, circumcised and baptized, the Jews did commonly (as I shewed) call *Young Proselytes*; and I added some other things in confirmation of that answer.

To overthrow this interpretation of mine given of that text, and of the word μαθητεύσας, he (who through all the last chapter had boldly maintained that I pretended no Scripture-proof at all) spends the most of this and the next chapter, producing a number of quotations, in some of which that word is used in the case of present actual teaching.

I would (as before for the word μαθητὴς) have granted him that, *That* the word *making disciples*, is far oftener used by authors, in the case of such as are at that time actually begun to be taught; but the import of the word does not necessarily include that in its signification, and so need not be supposed to do it here.

I do not think fit to follow him in his long ramble through every paragraph and quotation; but shall here make such observations as I think necessary, and such as will, I think, take off the force of all that he in these two chapters brings against our sense of the word.

The word, in its neuter intransitive signification [to be a disciple to, or under any one] had been used by others, viz. philosophers, historians, &c. before our Saviour's and St. Matthew's time; but I think St. Matthew (or rather his interpreter) is the first that ever used it in the active transitive signification [to make any one a disciple, or to teach one as a disciple] or with any accusative case. There is no instance of this transitive signification in any of the passages of the Heathen au-

thers produced by Mr. Gale, nor, I think, in any other. The Christian authors that use it so, have borrowed it from St. Matthew; of which the earliest is St. Luke (Acts xiv. 21) which is the only instance, besides St. Matthew, that I remember in the Bible. The fathers continue the use of it from them; so that it seems to have been a new word, made on purpose, to express the sense of the command given by our Saviour to his apostles, of proselyting all the nations of the world to him and his religion. The sense of it, therefore, must be learned from the notion of the word *Μαθητής*, from whence it is immediately derived.

*Μαθητής* is a *disciple*; and that *μαθητεύω* does accordingly, when it is used as a verb active, literally, and in its immediate import, signify *to make disciples*; and when used as a verb neuter, *to be a disciple*, and *μαθητευομαι*, *to be made a disciple*, is so plain a thing, that I will never spend time to prove it, unless I were to teach any one the grammar and analogy of that language. All that know them will, if they be not strongly biassed for a side, presently own it; and they that do not, must take time to learn them. Even those that translate it *teach*, have done it only for this reason. Because they, obviously conceiving that the making men disciples is ordinarily done, by teaching, have thought that to be the more intelligible word to stand in a vulgar translation. Mr. Le Clerc, who pretends to no small skill in these niceties, has (as Mr. Gale here quotes him, p. 293) owned this. That the proper signification of the word *μαθητεύω* is *to make disciples*, and not *to teach*; though he do there add, "It is true that disciples are not made but by teaching;" and Episcopius (whom he quotes afterward, p. 306) speaks to the same purpose, and so does Limborch. Nor is it contradicted by any that he quotes (as far as I can remember) when they speak of the proper and grammatical rendering of the word, though the *thing* itself, which they suppose our Saviour meant to command the apostles to do, they do many of them express by the words *teaching*, *instructing*, &c.; but many do keep to the

word itself, *make disciples, gather disciples, &c.*; and the criticism is not as Mr. Gale (p. 288) expounds it, that the word primarily and immediately signifies *teaching*, and consequentially *making disciples*; but the direct contrary, the immediate signification is *making disciples*, and consequentially *teaching*, viz. in all cases where disciples cannot be made, but by present teaching; of which more must be said by and by. It is indeed true what he there urges, that, in the nature of the things, *teaching* is in most cases the *cause*, and *being made disciples* the *effect*; but in the grammatical import of the words, μαθητεύω primarily signifies *making* (μαθηταί) *disciples*; and *teaching* no otherwise but by a consequence backward, from the effect to the cause.

2. Since the direct and strict translation of the word in the commission is *making disciples*, it is proper to examine what is the import of that word *disciples*.

First, The etymology of it is, we know, from μαθήω, *to learn*; as a man learns an art, a trade, a doctrine, or a language; and I think Dr. Whitby (as Mr. Gale quotes him here, p. 261) saying, "I desire any one to tell me how the apostles could (μαθητεύειν) *make disciples* of an Heathen, or unbelieving Jew, without being μαθηταί, or *teachers* of them," has forgot himself; μαθητής never signifying a *teacher*, but a *learner*; and the apostles were not to be μαθηταί of the Heathens, but the Heathens of them; else our Saviour's command to the apostles would run, "Make all nations μαθηταί, i. e. your teachers."

But for a true conception of the import of the word *disciples*, a thing much more considerable than the etymology, is to observe the use of it in the books of the New Testament, — in what sense it is generally taken there; and by a diligent minding the several places where it occurs, it will appear to be used by them in much the same sense as the word *Christians* is with us. In Acts ix. 26, St. Paul, soon after he turned Christian himself, *assayed to join himself to the disciples at Jerusalem; but they were afraid of him*,

and believed not that he was a disciple; and at Ephesus, he finding certain disciples, &c. In all which places we should have said *Christian* or *Christians*; and what puts it out of doubt, that they used these words as synonymous, is that St. Luke tells us that those who had been hitherto called *Disciples*, began, at Antioch, to be called *Christians*. Acts xi. 26, *The disciples were first called Christians at Antioch.*

In the books of Scripture, even after this, the writers do seldom use the word *Christians*. St. Peter, who lived and preached at Antioch, where the word was first framed, uses it once: — *If any man suffer as a Christian*; — and king Agrippa was almost persuaded to be a Christian; but our Saviour himself was the first author of the word in effect. Those who were afterward called Christians, he styled (*Χριστῶν ὄντας*) *belonging to Christ*; and, what is remarkable to this purpose, he uses it as equivalent to the word *disciples*; for that which St. Matthew expresses thus (chap. x. 42) *Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only* (*εἰς ὄνομα μαθητῆς*) *in the name of a Disciple*, or because they are disciples, — St. Mark (ix. 41) has thus: *Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink* (*ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, ὅτι Χριστῶς ἐστέ*) *in my name, because you belong to Christ*; or because you are Christ's, or Christians; — and St. Paul, who never, as I remember, uses either the word *μαθητῆς*, or the word *Χριστιανός*, does frequently use the word *Χριστῶν ὄντων* (which had been first used by our Saviour) instead of them, for any one's being a Christian. 2 Cor. x. 7, *If any man trust to himself* (*Χριστῶς εἶναι*) *that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that as he is* (*Χριστῶς*) *Christ's, even so are we* (*Χριστῶς*) *Christ's*; where, without any deviation from the sense, it might have been translated *Christian: we are Christians as well as he*; and the like in Gal. v. 24, *οἱ τῷ Χριστῷ*: *They that are Christ's*, or Christians; so Gal. iii. 29; and 1 Cor. xv. 23. Another word commonly used by him to the same purpose, is *ἅγιοι*, *the saints*. Almost all his epistles are so directed: — (*Τοῖς ἁγίοις*) *To the*

*Saints* at such or such a place, i. e. the Christians there. He chides the Corinthians that they went to law before the unbelievers, and not before the saints, the Christians. He made a collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem, i. e. the Christian poor of that place. And this last word is used also by St. Jude, and often in the Revelation. Other words of like use and to the same purpose, as μαθηταί, *the disciples*, in the New Testament, are οἱ Ἀδελφοί, *the brethren*, αἱ τῆς ὁδοῦ, or ταῦτα τῆς ὁδοῦ, *those of that way* (Acts ix. 2, and xxii. 4); that is, of the Christian way, or religion.

These names compared together do give us somewhat a clearer notion of the import of the word *disciples*; they do all terminate in the Antiochian word (which is now the common word to express them all) viz. *Christians*; and, consequently, we do hereby understand more distinctly the sense of μαθητεύειν (or as it is, John iv. 1, μαθητὰς ποιεῖν) *to make disciples*. Whatever constitutes or makes a person τῷ Χριστῷ εἶναι, to belong to Christ; to be a Christian, or, in St. Paul's word, τῷ Χριστῷ, Christ's; ἀδελφόν a brother; ἅγιον, a saint; that makes or constitutes him (μαθητὴν) a disciple, in the Scripture sense of the word; and that does the blessed Spirit of God by the office of an apostle or other minister of Christ, entering, dedicating, and baptizing him with water in the name which is by Christ appointed, by his own consent and faith, if he be adult, or by the consent and desire of his parents, or other guardians or owners, dedicating him to Christ, if an infant; so that μαθητεύειν, *to disciple* any one, is equivalent to our English word, *christen* any one.

I think that the Antipædobaptists themselves will grant that most of the other words which are equivalent to that of *disciple*, may be applied to infants. They will not deny that infants may belong to Christ, or be (τῷ Χριστῷ) Christ's. How else, if they die in infancy can they come to the kingdom of Heaven; which is not given to men or infants merely as being of human race, but as belonging to Christ?

The term of *Saints* (or *holy*, which is all one) St.



Paul gives to children as well as to men (1<sup>st</sup> Cor. vii. 14); and whoever grants them these titles of being Christs, or Christians, of being to be received in his name, and of being saints or holy, will not deny them the name of *Brèthren*, or the other names which I mentioned, as equivalent to disciples.

§ 8. Whereas Mr. Gale represents (as he does many times in these two chapters) the Pædobaptists as denying that the word *μαθηται* does include, or denote, or has any relation to *teaching*; he imputes to them more than, for aught I know, they ever said. At p. 263, having spoken of his antagonists (for he has a scheme in his head in which he is a considerable man, and the Catholic Church are his antagonists) he says, "Where's that ingenuity who so irregularly, &c. arbitrarily pretend that these words have no relation to teaching?" He says it positively of me (p. 294) that I infer "Since the word which signifies to *make disciples*, does not necessarily include teaching," &c. But this is no news with him to say of me that I say or infer things that I never said or thought.

I do think and own that it does denote, or has a relation to, teaching, or being taught; for as *μαθηται*, *discipulus*, and the English word *disciple*, are derivatives of *μαθω*, and *discere* to *learn*; so (what one of his authors observes) *learning* and *teaching* are, I own, correlative. He says (p. 259) that if it do not include teaching, all his argument from this place unavoidably falls to the ground; so that I think we must, if it be but for pity's sake, allow him that it has a reference to teaching.

What we pretend to is, That it does not necessarily follow from the signification of the word, that *that learning or teaching* must be at that present time when one is made, or styled *μαθηται*, or *discipulus*; but sometimes it refers to that teaching which one has had a good while before; and sometimes to that teaching which one is entered, consigned, and covenanted to have hereafter.

1. That *Mason*, mentioned Acts xxi. 16; is styled a

disciple still, though he may be judged to have learned all that was necessary long before; and so is St. John himself, at a time when all the world had need to learn of him, viz. in his old age when he was the only surviving apostle, and after he had written his gospel; John xxi. 24: *This is the disciple who wrote these things.* &c. It would not be proper here to say the learner; and in many of the quotations brought by Mr. Gale the word is used for such as were not then learners, but had learned, as *Aristotle*, p. 301, and several others, p. 302, 304, &c. Of the word *disciple* applied to such as had not yet begun to learn, but were appointed, dedicated, consigned or bound to learn, the examples in books have not been so frequent; because it is a case that writers holy or profane have seldom occasion to speak of. I did in those few lines mention some, as, that the Scripture does include the children of Christians in the notion of the word *disciple*, in those words of St. Peter (Acts. xv. 10) where he says of them that would have imposed circumcision on the Gentile Christians, That they thereby attempted to put a yoke on the neck of the disciples; whereas it was the infants of those Christians especially on whom the weight of this yoke would have fallen. Mr. Gale (p. 295) makes an exception against this instance, in which I am pleased to see how little he has to say against it, and shall answer it when I come to it. I mentioned likewise the custom of the Jews to call the infant children of a proselyte who were circumcised and baptized together with their father, *young proselytes* (which, as I shewed, is the same thing as to say *young disciples*) at a time when as yet they could not learn or know any thing; only they were then dedicated to learn and keep the covenant of the true God when they grew up; and I produced the testimonies of the Jews themselves and of their *Mishnah* for proof of this custom.

I quoted also Justin Martyr using the very same word that St. Matthey does, *discipulus*, and applying it

in children, speaking of some old men of his time, who ἐν παιδίᾳ μαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, "were made disciples to Christ in [or from] their childhood."

A very learned man has been pleased since to communicate to me some observations of his, which prove that the persons of Scripture and other Christian authors have commonly used the word to signify the reception of any one to the degree and number of disciples, as preparatory to subsequent instruction; so as that the person so received, in order to be taught, was, before the instruction itself, styled a *disciple*.

A. As where Eusebius, discoursing of our Lord's authority as a teacher, says, "A teacher professes himself skilful in some art or science; and his disciples being desirous to learn, submit themselves to his instruction." "Ο, τε γὰρ διδάσκων ἐπαγγελίαν μαθημάτων τινας παραγγέλλεται: οἱ τε ἐκ μαθητῶν μαθημάτων ορεγόμενοι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν προσφέροντες ἐπιτίθενται. *Evangel. Demonst. lib. 3.* He styles them disciples before they have yet begun to learn.

And concerning that man spoken of (Luke ix. 57) *It came to pass, as they went in the way, a certain man said unto him, Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest* — the same learned person observes that St. Matthew calls this man and another who offered himself at the same time *disciples*; for he (chap. viii. 19, 20, 21) having recited the same that St. Luke does concerning the first man, subjoins immediately, *Another of his disciples* [ἕτερος δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ] *said unto him, Lord, suffer me first, &c.* The latter is expressly styled a *disciple* by St. Matthew, who, calling him *another disciple*, does implicitly call the former likewise a *disciple*; though it seems to have been the first meeting that the first had with our Saviour, and neither of them seem to have gone (at least not as yet) any farther than to express a purpose of following him.

We have the more reason to observe how St. Matthew, of all the evangelists, or his interpreter, uses the word *μαθητής*, because, he being the first that ever

formed from it the verb *μαθησκειν* in any active-transitive signification, the import of that verb, *to make disciples*, is best learned from his notion of the word *disciple*; and we see he uses it for one that was designed or had a purpose to follow Christ and learn of him, though he had not yet done it, and, as most ancient expositors think, never did.

He shews likewise, by several instances, that in other words of a like use, it is a necessary way of speaking in all languages to give the term of some office or action to one who is now entered, appointed, or obliged to it, even before he actually performs any thing of it. A man becomes his servant, whom he undertakes to serve, before he has performed any act of service; nay, an infant may be born a slave or servant, by a preceding obligation of his parents. A pupil, entered as such under a tutor, has the name before he has yet heard any lecture; and he gives a very apposite instance of such an use of words in the Scripture in the case of the Kohathites, spoken of Numb. iii.; there were but 8600 of them in all, *from a month old and upward*; and all of that number are called (v. 28) *Keepers of the charge of the sanctuary*; for so are the words, *In the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, were eight thousand and six hundred, keeping the charge of the sanctuary*. Those infants, as well as their fathers, are styled *keepers of the charge*, because they were dedicated and appointed to be brought up to that office; as an infant baptized in Christ's name is to his religion, being *ανωρεγματος τῷ Χριστῷ*, enrolled and listed under his banner, and a promise made for him, that he shall be taught and educated in his doctrine.

And accordingly the Christians of all ages, ancient and modern (the ancient without exception, the modern with the exception only of some Presbyterians) have and do express this stipulation at the baptizing of any infant, That he shall, if he live, be brought up to the learning of it.

There is a word in our own language, and in common use with us, of the very same signification and de-

riation as *scholar*, or, *disciple*; each of the words denotes a *learner*; only one refers to secular, the other to spiritual things to be learned. A father, or guardian, or sometimes a parish, puts out a child an apprentice to a master of any trade; he is called and is an apprentice from the time of his being bound (which may be, and sometimes is, in very tender years) though he does not yet begin to learn his trade, but is consigned so to do when capable.

A Jew's child, from the time that he was circumcised, though then but eight days old, became a debtor (as St. Paul calls it) to perform the law, and an heir of the promises of it, and entered into the covenant of God, and might be called a *Covenanter*, as it is said (Deut. xix. 16) *You and your little ones, &c. do enter into covenant with the Lord, and unto his oath, &c.* In the same sense and way of speaking, a Christian's child, dedicated to Christ in baptism, may be called his *disciple*, or one *grafted into the body of his church*; or, as he himself expresses it, *Christ's own*, belonging to Christ, or a Christian.

Mr. Gale, at p. 229, concludes with this challenge; "If they will make appear that *μαθηται* can once signify in any passage, *to make disciples*, exclusively of teaching, I will not only alter my present opinion, but," &c.; and is so fulsome as to begin the next chapter; "Though I concluded my last with a challenge," &c.— If by *exclusively* he mean *without any relation to teaching*, it is true what he says, *No man will accept it*; but if he mean *without a necessary implying of a present or precedent actual teaching*, I think enough may have been said to shew the vanity of his boasting. Yet I think fitting (as I did in the word *πατρις*) to refer to a passage which I may be confident he himself has seen.

One may plainly trace him along *Pole's Synopsis*, for the interpreters that have explained it *teach*, and for the versions (*Syr. Ar. Æthiop.* &c. with which he makes so long a flourish) that have translated it *teach*. And there he saw, no doubt, those that vindicate the more

general sense, *make disciples*; or, as *Band* there would have it, with one Latin word, *discipulare*. He who learned from thence that Vatablus expounded *discipulus*, *discipulus* (viii. 4) *scilicet abluendum*, could not but see here this rendering, *make disciples*, nor could miss or see his reference to Gataker's vindication of that sense, *Act. 4. 29.*; and Dr. Lightfoot's observation, that in the phrase of the Jews they are called *discipuli* (not only who are actually taught, but also) who are put to be taught; and (what shows the vanity of this challenge) the Doctor's quoting to this purpose, *Gen. Schubb. fol. 34.*; and the heathen instructing *Paul*, "Make me thy proselyte [*or disciple*] that thou mayest teach me." *Act. 18. 25.* (see also) *1 Cor. 14. 20.* and *1 Tim. 4. 13.*

It will be granted that in far the greatest number of passages where this word is used, the circumstances and additions are such as do shew that the author is then speaking of such a disciple as was then in the state of actual and present learning; and the notions of *discipling* and *instructing* do for the most part accompany one another in the same discourse and sentence; and so they do in our use of the word *apprentice*; but the notions themselves are distinct, and may be separate. When we say Such an one proves a diligent, a tractable, or useful apprentice, or a good proficient, in his trade, or the like, such sayings carry along with them the connotation of actual and present learning; but if he be sick; or idle, or stupid all his time, the word as applied to such an one shall intimate nothing beyond his own precise and proper signification, that he was put apprentice; bound to learn; and as a direction given in those short words, Bind your children apprentices to such or such an one, expresses a notion of the word abstracted from, and preceding to, the notion of their actual learning; so St. Matthew's word (which is as short) *disciple to me all nations*, expresses a notion alike abstracted, and may be understood either with or without present teaching, according to the capacity or incapacity of the person at present; only this it necessarily implies and commands that the person be taught; which

may be (and by the tenor of other texts must be) at present, if he be in a present capacity, or otherwise when he shall be so. A distinction should be made between what the word denotes strictly, directly, and of itself; and what only accidentally, and according to the circumstances of the subject.

Mr. Gale (p. 254, 255) burlesques the Pædobaptists' exposition of the command, and would overthrow it, if a grin would do it. *Go, teach all nations; even infants too, when they are grown up.* But he brings nothing of argument against such a paraphrase as this: *Go, make disciples to me* [or, bring and enter into my covenant] *all nations* [the adult upon their faith, and their infant children upon their parents dedicating them to me] *baptizing them in the name, &c. Teaching them* [even the infants too when they are grown up] *to observe, &c.*

4. It should be considered that the most important part by far of the work which the apostles were charged with by this commission, was to convert the unbelieving nations to preach the doctrine of Jesus crucified and raised again, &c. ; and, in a word, to teach and preach the gospel; and that this part of their business lay among the adult; for the apostles, when in any city they had preached and converted any number of the Gentile people and prepared them for baptism, commonly did (as our Saviour had done before) leave the baptizing of them, and especially of their children, to deputies, as is plain by what St. Paul says of himself (1 Cor. ii. 17); and that therefore it was proper for the Evangelist to express this office by a word which in most cases comprehends the duty of teaching, which was the main and most difficult work which they were to do in their own persons, the pains which they were to take with the adult; for all writers in their expressions, and translators in their rendering those expressions in another language, aim at words which may best imprint on the mind the chief and most important part of the things they would signify; so that I do not wonder that the English translators and others whom Mr. Gale here

quotes, either of the eastern or western languages, have rendered it *teach*; for though St. Matthew's own word be of a more general and large signification, *make disciples*, yet, as words in different languages do seldom exactly answer one another in the whole import of each, the English and other translators could hardly find any one word that did better denote the main of what our Saviour meant, μαθητεύσατε, than such a word as *docete*, *teach*; nor do we yet know of any one English word that will exactly render it, unless we make a new word on purpose (as St. Matthew's interpreter seems to have done in Greek) *disciple* all nations, or, *proselyte* all nations, which would have been inconvenient in a translation which is chiefly for the use of the unlearned, who would not have understood the meaning of them.

In the Latin there is no word at all that fits it. Dr. Hammond is forced to paraphrase it *in discipulatum vocare*, "bring to discipleship;" and even in the Greek, that which St. Matthew's Greek interpreter expresses by one word, μαθητεύειν, "to disciple," St. John chooses to express by two (chap. iv. 1) Ἰησοῦς πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ καὶ βαπτίζει, *Jesus made and baptized more disciples*. Mr. Gale at

P. 292, is very angry with Dr. Hammond for comparing these two expressions of the two apostles as parallel, or the one explaining the other; but it is an anger that can do no hurt; for there is no man but himself that understands the language but will own at first sight that they are only two ways of expressing the same thing as done by our Saviour, and ordered to be done afterward by the apostles; nor does he bring any reason to the contrary, but only that the Doctor in his *Paraphrase* and *Annotations* speaks something differently from what he does in his *Six Queries*; of which I must say more by and by.

That in the Greek of St. Matthew, μαθητεύσατε (v. 19) has some difference in signification from διδάσκοντες (v. 20) is plain from his using those two words, so presently one after the other, to different purposes; for else, if they were exactly synonymous, the sense would have



and is incongruous in the Greek as it does now in the English: *Teach all nations, baptizing them, &c. teaching them to observe, &c.* If he had taken them so, he would probably have said, *Teach all nations to observe, &c. baptizing them;* but he uses different words to this sense, *Proselyte to me all nations, baptizing them, &c. teaching them to observe, &c.;* which difference the English and other translators, for want of proper words in their respective languages, could not preserve; but the sense of Scripture is to be taken from the original, and not to lose its force for want of English words.

Another thing that has made the translators the less cautious concerning the rendering of this word *teach*, instead of *make disciples*, was, that in the time of making the old translations, there were no Antipædobaptists (and when the English translation was made, none in England) who should thence take occasion for their error, viz. to conclude that infants, though a part of the nation, must not be baptized, as not being yet taught. All people then understood it thus; That the apostles, going into the heathen nations; must first teach and convert the adult persons and baptize them; and then at their request baptize their children into the same covenant; and while all took it so, there was no hurt in letting the word *teach* stand; since it is true that the main thing required of the apostles was to teach, their main business being, as I said, with the adult; but when there appear men who, catching hold of the word *teach* are thereby scandalized, or drawn into the erroneous consequence aforesaid, it is then very necessary, to make them understand that St. Matthew's own word, *make disciples*, does not give occasion for that mistake; because, though the way of making disciples, which was more especially to be regarded and laboured by the apostles, was by teaching the adult, yet the Scripture word is of such a latitude as to take in any other way of making disciples which is allowable by the tenor of God's covenant in Christ; into which covenant, if children be not by God's mercy admitted, they are in a woful condition.

It is plain that all the translators themselves took the thing to be so (for, I think Mr. Gale will not pretend that any translation was ever made by other than Pse-dobaptists) and also that all those many authors, whose words he quotes in these two chapters (I mean the Christian authors) understood it, that not these words, nor any other words in Scripture, are to be construed to exclude infants from baptism; for they are all Pse-dobaptists; even Mr. Le Clerk and Bishop Burnet, whom he so much caresses; and Dr. Whitby, in whom he is so wrapt up is so, or at least was so the last time we heard him speak of this matter in print; for in a little pamphlet against Dr. Edwards, having been urged by him (as some people were formerly by St. Austin) with the arguments for the doctrine of original sin drawn from the baptism of infants, and having seen in the mean time this book of Mr. Gale's, and in it so many eulogiums of himself, he speaks, as high as I can remember the words, to this purpose: That he does think that infants ought to be baptized; but yet he would gladly see an answer to the arguments of the learned Mr. Gale to the contrary.

Now to what purpose is it to quote some particular sayings of men to confirm a tenet which, when we read their books, it appears they never held, nor meant their arguments to that purpose, but the contrary? Whereas he obstinately contends (at p. 266 and 275) that *πατρις* is never used as a verb neuter, to be a disciple to any one; he shews his temper (or character, as he calls it, when he speaks of me) to be To deny anything, though ever so plain; when it stands, or he does but fancy it to stand in his way. For fear that *πατρις* *τινι* should be rendered To make such of such an one a disciple, *πατρις* *τινι* shall not signify To be a disciple to such or such; which yet both every man and boy that reads the language knows to be so, and every Lexicon renders so; and many of his own quotations (all, as I said before, that he brings from secular authors) make no sense unless they be rendered so. The first that he brings (p. 267) has plainly the

neuter signification, *to be a disciple or scholar to* (so happy he is in applying quotations); and if any one will bestow the pains to read (as I have been fain, to no purpose, to do) the rest of his quotations, where it is construed with a dative case, he will find that in all of them it is used as a neuter, and cannot be translated *learn, or teach, or make disciples*; but *to be a disciple to*; — as (p. 276) “Being a disciple (τῷ πατρὶ) to his father;” and speaking of Isocrates: Such an one, and such an one (ἐμαθητεύσεν αὐτῷ) ‘were disciples to him;’ and in like manner μαθητεύσαι τοῖς; and p. 283, 284, 285, out of Clem. Alex. τοῖς Μάγοις, τῷ Ναζαράτῳ, γινώσκει βαρβάρῳ τῷ Κυρίῳ; and, p. 286, out of Origen, τοῖς ἰδωταῖς, are all to be translated by ‘by being a disciple to:’ To the Magi, — to Nazaratus, — to the learning of the barbarians, — to the Lord, — to ignorant men. Unless Mr. Gale would have us say Such a man *learned* to the Magi, or *taught* to them, or *was taught* to them. As μαθητής is *a learner*, not *a teacher* (with every one but Dr. Whitby); so μαθητεύειν, when it is active (as is often, since St. Matthew’s time, in ecclesiastical writers) is to make people *learners* or disciples; and when it is neuter (as it was always before) to be *a learner*, or *disciple to*, or *under any one*.

I happened to look into the Index of Clem. Alex. and there is a reference to three several places of the book where μαθητεύω is found. Two of them are, where it is used in the *neuter* signification; and the index-maker might have noted several more such; but on one he makes a particular note, that it there signifies, *docere et discipulum*. Mr. Gale sets them down all three, with this preface, “I remember I have read in Clem. Alex.” (and, I suppose, would have done, if there had been ten) though two of the three make directly against his notion. Such a man may be well enough employed in searching for quotations; but there ought to be somebody else to judge whether they are for his turn.

He would evade this absurdity of bringing several instances of its neuter signification (when his business was to maintain that there are none) by supposing (at page

277) that when μαθητεύειν is construed with a dative, there is a preposition (σύν or παρά) understood; and says "The passage whence I gather this, is a good instance against Stephens, Constantine," &c. (under which &c. are comprehended all Lexicons that ever were wrote; and Dr. Busby he had named, as being against him, two pages before). The passage is out of Origen.

Now, here one would have expected Origen's use of μαθητεύω with such a preposition; but (to the laughter of all school-boys that shall read it) he, instead of it, brings in, with a long preface, a quotation of Origen, using the *passive* μαθητεύομαι so, Μεμαθητευμένοι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ, *edoctæ apud patrem*: "Having been instructed when with the father;" and to expose himself yet more, says "Here Origen uses μαθητεύειν for the same;" as μανθάνειν, which is as much as to say, *to teach* is the same as *to learn*. The like work, or worse, he makes in the next paragraph with a passive of Irenæus, where there is no dative at all, μαθητευθείς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων; as if he did not yet understand that, though the active, *to teach*, or make any one a disciple, or the neuter, *to be a disciple*, does not require a preposition, yet the passive, *to be taught*, or *disciplined by* any one, does.

Then there follow fourteen of his quotations more, that are nothing at all to the purpose, not having any thing of μαθητεῖν in them.

These, you will say, are mean and poor observations. How can I help it, if I am set to answer such a book? He had begun this nonsense at page 263; where he says, μανθάνω signifies properly *docere*, as well as *discere*.

There is, in Scripture, an instance of this word used as a neuter. St. Matthew (ch. xxvii. 57) speaking of Joseph, of Arimathea, says, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθήτευσεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ. Mr. Gale, if he had *had* the translating of this, would have rendered it (as he does all the rest of that very construction) without any mention of the word, *disciple*; but this being translated to his hand, *was Jesus's disciple*, he would have the translation altered; and if it were true, which he pretends, that μαθητεύω

does always signify actively *to teach*, then this must have been rendered, *who also himself taught to Jesus*. Into such absurdities do people run, when they will obstinately deny things that are plainly true. He would turn it into a passive, *had been instructed, taught, brought over*, or any thing, so it be not *was a disciple to*.

Let us see if St. John's authority will convince him. He (ch. xix. 38) expresses the same thing, *ὡν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, *being a disciple of Jesus*. It is pity this place was not shewed to Mr. Gale, that we might have seen how he would have exercised his faculty of twisting and warping upon it.

He was in the right (if it had been feasible, and if he was resolved, sense or nonsense, to carry his point) to deny that the neuter *μαθητὴς* (which was in use before St. Matthew's time) signified *to be a disciple*; for if that be granted, that *that* was the known signification of it before, and St. Matthew only turned it into an active, none will doubt but the active must be *to make disciples*.

There needs nothing more to be observed of his rhapsody of quotations, but these few general things: —

First, That a great many of them are, as I said, absolutely impertinent to the purpose, having not the word *μαθητὴς*, nor any derivative of it in them; but are about *ἀκούω* *audio*, *παιδεύω*, *instituto*, &c.

Secondly, That of those which have the word, the far greatest part would have been best translated by *making disciples*, or *being disciples to*, or *being made disciples*; but he without any ground, chooses to translate them by *teach*, *learn*, &c. which was the question. This any one will see that peruses the places.

Thirdly, That there are indeed some of them that are best rendered by *teach*, or *being taught*; and that is nothing but what would have been granted him at first, that, where the circumstances of the passage and of the persons spoken of, do shew it to be meant of adult persons now in the state of learning, there to *make disciples*.

does import *teaching* of them; and in such places it does often bear in the construction of the sentence to express it *teach*; because, as I said before, in most places where the word occurs, the discipling is by present teaching; but our Saviour, or St. Matthew, or his interpreter, seem to have gone out of the ordinary road of words, to apply here a word of so large a signification as to include any way of entering disciples, which is, as I said, agreeable to the tenor of God's covenant, and receiving persons into his fold, or *peculium*.

And this very thing, of choosing a new word on purpose for this sacrament, (viz. *discipling* in general) is of itself a proof that it is not to be taken in the same limited sense as the word *teaching*; for if it had been to express *teaching*, there were plenty of common and known words in use for that.

Some few passages I shall note as I go along; and so dismiss these two chapters.

P. 259. And again, at the end of chap. vii, and again at the beginning of the eighth, he accuses Dr. Hammond of prejudice, partiality, and contradicting himself, when he translates μαθητεύσατε, *make disciples*; and yet he confesses at one of them (p. 293) that most Pædobaptists, who argue from that text, do give the word that sense. All that he says of moment (beside his angry and unmannerly censures of that worthy man) is, that though in his *Answer to Six Queries* he do contend for that sense, and argue from it for the capacity of infants to be disciplined by baptism; and in his *Dissertations on Episcopacy* render it *in discipulatum vocare*, yet, in his *Paraphrase and Annotations*, he asserts the direct contrary, and thus paraphrases the words: "Teach all nations the Christian doctrine," &c.

I know not what edition of the *Paraphrase and Annotations* Mr. Gale has met with, nor have at present any opportunity of comparing the several editions; but I know there is some variety in them as to the notes on this text; and that in some of them the doctor does (as

well as in the *Six Queries*) assert the proper signification to be, *make disciples*; which it is a wonder to me, if Mr. Gale was ignorant of. I remember to have seen a pamphlet giving an account of those variations in the later editions; but they do not amount (as Mr. Gale represents) to a contrariety or contradiction. It is to be noted that *that* great man lived a good part of his time before there were any Antipædobaptists in England, or at least before there were any considerable number of them, so as to be taken much notice of (which indeed there were not till that great rebellion); and in those former editions, or one of them, he had it seems, in his Paraphrase expressed only that which was the *main* part of the office of the apostles, given them by this commission, viz. teaching and converting; and there was not then any fear of any one's misunderstanding or perverting the sense, so as to think he meant the other to be excluded; but upon the rise and increase of Antipædobaptists, he thought it necessary to guard against their mistake by giving the full sense of the Scripture-word. This is a thing that has happened to many, even of the best writers, that before some sect or new opinion has arisen, they have used expressions more unguarded against that error than they would do afterwards; so it was with Eusebius in respect of the Arian heresy, and with many others. No man can think that Dr. Hammond ever took those texts, or any text, to be against the baptizing or discipling of infants.

P. 266. He says That in all the passages wherein he has observed the word, it does necessarily include teaching, "or at least may admit it;" and that if it ever signify "*to disciple*, and exclude teaching" (which he thinks it does not) yet that is not "the signification in which it is always, or commonly, used."

This is more modest than Mr. Gale uses to be. No doubt it does more *commonly*, i. e. in most of the places where one shall find it used, appear, by the circumstances of the persons there spoken of, to relate to adult persons; and, consequently, must be supposed to be accompanied there with present teaching.

P. 270. Where in a passage of Clem. Alex. Mr. Gale says μαθητεύειν is interpreted by Clement himself to mean διδάσκειν, as it relates to the angels, and μαρθάνειν, as it relates to persons taught, he should have said μαθητεύεσθαι is interpreted μαρθάνειν; for *to be taught* is the same as *to learn*; but *to teach* is not. This mistake he makes ever and anon; and at the foot of that page, St. Justin's word (μαθητευθῆναι εἰς τὰ θεῖα διδάγματα) should have been translated 'Made disciples to the divine doctrine;' for *taught to it*, is neither sense nor language; and so in the pages before, the sayings of Ignatius should have been translated, 'I do now begin (μαθητεύεσθαι) to be made a disciple; and I speak to you as fellow-disciples;' and the next, of giving good examples to the Heathens their neighbours, that they might by their works (μαθητευθῆναι) *be made disciples*, or brought to Christianity; and so in most of Mr. Gale's own quotations.

P. 271. That passage of Justin Martyr should be rendered "God has not, nor does as yet, bring on his judgment [meaning the Day of Judgment] as knowing that still some every day (μαθητευόμενος εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ) are made disciples [or do become disciples] to [or in] the name of his Christ, and do forsake the way of error [and the sentence should have been continued as it is in Justin] οἱ καὶ λαμβάνουσι δόματα, ἕκαστος ὡς ἄξιός ἐστι, φωτιζόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ χριστοῦ τούτου. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνει συνέσεως πνεῦμα, ὁ δὲ βουλῆς, ὁ δὲ ἰσχύος, ὁ δὲ ἰάσεως, &c. 'Who do also receive gifts (every one as he is worthy) when they are baptized [*or enlightened*] by the name of this Christ;' — for one receives the spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing," &c.

Mr. Gale talks of God's delaying to "pour down his judgments;" which neither agrees to the words nor the sense; but (what is material to our purpose) the place plainly speaks of baptism, viz. of some daily being made disciples, forsaking idolatry, and being baptized in the name of Christ; and receiving such gifts of the Holy Spirit as the Christians at their baptism are known to



have received, — many of which (as learned men have proved from this and other passages in St. Justin) did continue in his time to be given Christians at the time of their being baptized, and of the bishops laying their hands on them.

Mr. Gale's exception, that "*to disciple* or proselyte into the name of Christ," is a phrase never used, is a mere cavil : — εἰς τὸ ὄνομα is to be rendered here, as βαπτίζοντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα (Matt. xxviii. 19) *in the name*.

And his other objection (p. 273) that if φωτίζόμενοι signify here *baptized*, it will make a gross tautology, is a worse ; for it is the same order of words as our Saviour used, *Disciple all the nations, baptizing them* ; and his third, that φωτίζόμενοι did not signify *baptized* so early as St. Justin's time, is a shrewd proof of what some have thought, that he has read the fathers no otherwise than by searching such places as the Index of certain words used in this debate directed him to. It is impossible to read Justin without perceiving that he uses it as an ordinary word for *baptized*. I myself had quoted to Mr. Gale his first apology, where, having discoursed largely of baptism, he tells us that this was one of the common names of it : Καλεῖται δὲ τὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ, φωτισμός. This washing is called φωτισμός ; and a few lines after, he repeats again, in what name ὁ φωτιζόμενος λέγεται, 'the baptized person is washed,' viz. of the Father, &c. ; and in the next page again, how, after the baptism, the people go to prayers, praying ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος, καὶ ἄλλων, &c. 'both for themselves, and for the baptized person, and all other Christians,' &c. where he sets down the substance of the prayers much like those of our church on that occasion.

P. 274. He says, I bring no proof of that sense of μαθητεύειν which I give (part 2, chap. x) nigh the end, viz. that it signifies much like what we say in English, "To enter any one as a scholar, disciple, or proselyte to such a master, school, or profession." That it signifies *to make disciples*, needs no proving. I used the other words

as explanatory ; and though I mentioned all this matter but in half a page, yet I gave, beside other, one proof to which he can give no answer, from the Jews use of the word *proselyte* (which is a parallel word to *disciple*) in that manner, calling the adult that were entered at their own desire *proselytes*, or disciples to Moses ; and their infant children entered at the parents' request, *young proselytes*, or disciples. To which I have now added some other proofs of the use of the word, communicated, as I said, by a learned hand. Mr. Gale himself (at p. 296) says, " Ask a countryman what he means by the word *scholar* : he will tell you, he means one that goes to school to learn." Right ; *to learn*, *i. e.* that he may learn ; but when he is first put to school, and before he has begun actually to learn any thing, he is such a man's scholar ; so an infant is baptized, *i. e.* entered and consigned to Christ as a Master, and obliged *to learn* and practise his religion ; and though he has not yet, nor does as yet actually learn, he is put to be Christ's scholar or disciple. He is, in Justin's phrase (*ἐκ παιδὸς μαθητεύθεις τῷ Χριστῷ*) 'discipled to Christ from a child.'

P. 282. He had been bringing there fourteen or fifteen instances of what the words *ἀκούω*, *παιδεύω*, &c. do signify in passages of the authors there quoted ; for which, as for an impertinent digression, he ought to have asked the reader's pardon ; but instead of it, he says " This is a very home argument that *μαθητεύω* in all such places necessarily implies *hearing* and *learning*," &c. ; and then adds, " This is sufficiently demonstrated." It must needs be, that the master to whom Mr. Gale went to school, taught his boys to conclude their declamations with some great boast of their performance ; for the concluding, that because *ἀκούω*, *παιδεύω*, &c. do necessarily imply present *learning* and *teaching*, &c. therefore *μαθητεύω* does, is much such a demonstration as the countryman gave of the cause of Godwin Sands.

P. 288. He tells his *Sir*, that always sits by him, something of his mind. " I would choose rather to lay that phrase [*make disciples*] aside ;" and a little after,

"If it be rendered *make disciples*, our adversaries take an advantage," &c. I commend him; and I suppose his friend wishes so too; but then they must contrive to have the Greek word itself laid aside too, and changed for some other word. I could tell them of texts of Scripture which several sorts of men would wish to be laid aside. Some, the three first verses of St. John;—some, the first verses of Rom. xiii.; but these are vain wishes. It is better to lay the schism aside. The phrase *make disciples* will always stand either in the text, or as it does now in the marginal notes of our English Bibles, both at Matt. xxviii. 19, and in Acts xiv. 21, as the proper and grammatical sense of the word.

P. 295, 296. He gives me very foul language. "My assertion grossly false. A great dishonour and disservice to religion, that any who are teachers of it, and appointed to guide the people, &c. should support their fancies by a fallacy."—Thus I have lived to have an ill-behaved schismatic, and one whom for age I may account a boy, affront and abuse me in respect of my office; and all, only for affirming a thing which every one that reads the Scripture must own to be a truth.

I had observed that St. Peter, speaking (Acts xv. 10) against the imposing of circumcision on the Heathen converts ["and their children," so I had expressed it] words it thus:—*To put a yoke on the neck of the disciples*. He styles those on whom this yoke was intended to be put (*μαθητάς*) *Disciples*; and I said, that it was *infants especially* on whom this yoke was attempted to be put.

He says, it was disingenuous to express it Heathen converts and their children; and much worse, to assert downright that it was *infants especially* on whom, &c.; and his reason is, Because "infants are nowhere mentioned, nor is any thing said that can be applied to them in the whole chapter;" and because the men only are mentioned, he concludes (p. 296) that by (*μαθητῶν*) *the disciples*, the apostle intends only the converts, "exclusively of their children, if they had any."

Now, I say, that every one that reads the Scripture, and the rules that it always gives concerning circumcision, must understand the attempt of imposing it to have reached, and to have been intended, to the children as well as their fathers; and that (though they be not mentioned, yet) the nature of the thing does of itself evince it; for whether it be Jews, the seed of Abraham, or proselytes to them, that receive circumcision, it is notorious that all of them received it on these terms, That they and all their male children of eight days old or above, were to undergo it. This might be proved from the case of Abraham (Gen. xvii. 12, 13; also xxi. 4) of any proselytes (Gen. xxxiv. 15; Exod. xii. 48); but I forbear to spend time in the proof of a thing which every body but he understands.

Moreover, these Jewish believers, who disputed among themselves whether this yoke of circumcision should be laid on the Gentile believers or not, did practise it thus in respect to their own children, as appears from Acts xxi. 20, 21; and can any one now think that those sticklers for circumcision, mentioned Acts xv. 5, who held it was needful to circumcise the Gentile converts, did not mean that those Gentile converts should do as they did, viz. circumcise their children too? The children are not mentioned; but a circumstance, plain by the nature of the thing, needs it not.

He imputes gross falsehood to me;—but either that, or else gross ignorance, belongs to him, when he says “It was meant exclusively of their children, if they had any;” whereas no rule of circumcision was ever meant so. He seems to think that it was used, as the Antipædobaptists would have baptism to be, “exclusively of children;” but even they do know that circumcision, and all other Christians, that baptism, have been ever used “inclusively of them.”

And that which I said, that it was children *especially* on whom the weight of this yoke would have fallen, is so plain and easy to account for, that he must be shamefully dull that needs the explanation; for if a man of adult age had received this doctrine, he himself must

have been circumcised; but so must all his male children too. This may be counted equal; but, in the succeeding generations, it would have fallen on the infant children only; so that I had good reason to say that they were children especially on whom this yoke would have come.

P. 319. He names another place of my book, where I insinuate (but how is his confidence sunk! — he was wont, when he affixed a false thing on me, to say I owned it) that the commission (Matt. xxviii. 19) and the comment of St. Hierom on it, relate only to adult persons. I had the patience to turn to the place of my book that he refers to, and do find his accusation false. I think not to take that pains again; but if he say such things of me, to conclude them to be false by the custom. The reader may consult the place if he please; but if I had insinuated so, how absurd is he to spend two chapters against me, to prove what I myself had insinuated or taught!

Next, having much leisure, he brings some texts to prove that the apostles were to preach the Gospel where they came; and then concludes, not forgetting to assure us, that what he has said does plainly demonstrate; so it does, — something.

But it is pretty to observe what a liberty he takes in talking of the method of my book. He, at the latter end of this chapter and beginning of the next, brags that he has discovered “an error in my very foundation; — in the very ground-work of my system;” and he means this observation concerning the word *μωυσεϊστικὴ*, to be that foundation and ground-work; whereas I never mentioned any thing about that matter, but in half a page near the end of my book, as in a history there was no occasion.

These two chapters were collections made, I suppose, before by him, or somebody; and he puts upon the Antipædobaptists, by making them believe they were wrote against me.

## CHAPTER VIII.

HERE is the first place that he brings his answers (or reflections into any appearance of a method; and now above half his book is over, begins to answer my Introduction, concerning the Jewish baptism of proselytes, and their children. He spends two chapters in opposing what I had said of that. If I could have foreseen, that we should have had so full an account of that matter as the learned Dr. Wotton has since published, I might well have spared my pains in answering these two chapters; but as I had drawn up the answers to the particular objections he makes against me, before I heard of that book published, let them stand. A reader that has perused that, will, I suppose, have no need of them, and may pass them by. Every body will see an instance of Mr. Gale's assurance in denying things that are so certain as this had been before shewed to be, and is now so incontestably confirmed by that elaborate work.

His first exception against the passages of the books of Jewish writers, which I produce, is, That they are not so ancient as to be able to inform us of the customs of the Jews that lived in or before our Saviour's time: that the *Misna*, or text of the *Talmud* (which is the ancientest that I cite) was not compiled till about 150 years after the destruction of Jerusalem; that is, 210 years after Christ's birth; — so he says; but men of the best learning in that history, prove that it was composed by Rabbi Judah Hakodesh seventy years sooner, in the midst of the second century, in the time of Antoninus Pius. I refer myself to Dr. Prideaux (*Connection of History*, part 1, lib. 5, p. 257) who makes it plain, by circumstances too long to be here repeated.

Now, 210 years after Christ's birth is but 180 after

his and St. John's baptizing; and 150 is but 120, which, in the scarcity of books that are left to us, is an early date for Jewish or Christian writers (especially when seconded by so many following testimonies) as he knows well enough, and fills his book with authorities of a much fresher date, though here he spends two pages in a shewy flourish and address to his *Sir*: "Now, Sir, can any reasonable man take the reports of authors who wrote so long after," &c.; and yet at last says (p. 328) That he "will not insist upon this;" and yet, in the next chapter (if that be writ by the same man) resumes it again, at p. 370, observing that Philo and Josephus, who are something elder, have no mention of this custom of baptizing proselytes; to which an answer must be made here, if anywhere, and if one would bring his immethodical arguments into any brevity.

It is much such an argument as that of Mr. Tombs, which I recited, was against the antiquity of infant baptism among the Christians, That among all the ancient Christians that mention it, Eusebius and some others have nothing about it. Philo was all taken up with allegorical and philosophical flights; — Josephus wrote the *History and Antiquities of the Jews* in much the same way as Eusebius of the Christians, — their original, their kings, their high priests, their wars, &c. In no such books one can reasonably expect an account of their rituals, or the ceremonies of admitting proselytes into their religion; but the *Talmud* and books of the Rabbies, which I cited, do contain (as our Common-Prayer Book does, for our religious usages) the Rubrics for their ceremonies of this sort.

Mr. Gale at that page (370) refers us to two passages of Josephus (lib. 13) where he thinks this initiatory baptism would have been mentioned, if it had been in use in the time of the Maccabees and later kings. Hyrcanus having subdued the Edomites, suffered them to continue in that country, "on condition they would be circumcised, and live according to the Jewish laws; and they, out of love to their native country,

complied to receive circumcision, and live after the fashion of the Jews;" and the like expressions he uses in the next chapter but one, in relating the like terms required of the Itureans, who had been conquered by Aristobulus.

Here Mr. Gale concludes, that at this time proselytes were not used to be baptized, but circumcised only; because Josephus mentioning one, says nothing of the other. Indeed, he does not make his argument so fair as to say "He does not mention it;" but boldly says, Josephus informs us that Hyrcanus made and initiated them "Jews by circumcision only;" — but the words are as I have recited.

Circumcision is here by Josephus mentioned, as the chief and most remarkable circumstance whereby the Jews were distinguished. It was also the most difficult and painful of the things imposed, and (as one Mr. Stokes, a writer against Mr. Gale, whose book I have but just now seen, and who has dubbed him Dr. Gale, observes) it was most contemned by other nations; so that the chief difficulty was in forcing them to receive that. Baptism, as an easy thing and not unusual among other nations, may well be supposed to be included in the general words, "The other Jewish Laws."

An argument which prevailed with Mr. Emlin (as I noted before) and does prevail with most that speak of this matter is, That since it is notorious that the Jews have such a custom now of baptizing their proselytes; and it appears by their books that they had the same in the times within less than 150 years of our Saviour, and they spoke then of it as a custom always used by their nation, and that it cannot be conceived that they would borrow it, or use it in imitation of our Saviour Christ, or the Christians, whom they disdained and abominated, — there is all reason to conclude that they derived it from their ancestors, as they say they did. None can maintain the contrary but one whom his hypothesis forces, especially when the Scripture itself speaks of the *baptizing* unto Moses.



Therefore, Mr. Gale here says he will not insist upon it; but he does a worse thing. He denies a plain matter of fact that was before his eyes. He says, of the passages cited by me, "Not one does so much as assert or intimate that the baptism of proselytes was in use in our Saviour's time." Mr. Stokes has found him tardy; and has referred him to the first of them, which speaks of the use of it in David and Solomon's time; and there are, as he tells him, several others; and, indeed, nobody that had eyes could miss them; yet he, at p. 333, 334, says it over again.

P. 328. Another shift is, That perhaps "they do not speak of an initiatory baptism, but only a purification from the blood of circumcision."

His reader, that will read the passages over again, must be ashamed for him. They do all speak of entering proselytes, — some adult, some infants, some males, some females; and whereas he would except those found in the *Misna* itself, there are none that mention *proselyting* plainer than they; and they also instance in female children, which makes his exception concerning the blood of circumcision to be absolute nonsense.

P. 329. He would prove a thing that is a direct contradiction to what he had said the page before; for there he had yielded that a passage there produced out of the *Talmud* did "shew indeed what was the method when that was written; but not that the same custom had been observed for 200 years before; but here he produces two Jewish writers, from some of whose words he would conclude that they knew of no baptism of proselytes at all, as used by their nation; but took it to be a ceremony first instituted by John or Christ.

I shall by no means transcribe passages so impertinent. Most of them speak of the custom of baptizing Jews, or any persons born of *faithful* parents, as a new thing brought up by John or Christ, and not then or formerly used by their nation; which is nothing to the baptizing of Proselytes from among the Heathens.

Besides, if these two had, in their spite to the Christians, vented slanders which would have recoiled upon their own religion (as some eager disputants commonly do, go on so fiercely in ruining other mens' foundations, that they undermine their own) should we thence conclude against plain proofs that the Jews had no such religion? What are two (as Mr. Stokes observes) against a cloud of witnesses? What are conclusions drawn by consequence from some raging blasphemous expressions, to full attested matter of fact? Two obscure authors, to the *Talmuds* and the generally owned and received books of that time and ever since, and the known present practice of the nation? If Mr. Gale's cause have no other hopes but in the denial of such publicly attested facts, it is plainly desperate. Besides that, one of his authors (whom he styles *ancient*) speaks of the Christians as baptizing their infants. Let Mr. Gale believe his *Rabbi* for that, if he plead his credit as to the other. — The last shift to which he flies, at

P. 334, does not help. He would argue the insufficiency of the evidence which is taken from any writings of the Rabbins, to prove what was their practice from hence, That those Jews are a "despicable, ignorant, and whimsical sort of writers."

To which I need give no other answer than that which I gave before to the very same objection in his fourth chapter, p. 163; which I entreat the reader for once to recur to.

From this p. 335, the next thirteen pages to 348, are such as any Christian reader of Mr. Gale's book ought to tear out, and burn without reading them. They are nothing at all to the purpose of baptism, infant or adult, Jewish or Christian. They are a kennel of stinking blasphemies, and burlesque on the Christian religion. What conceit made him translate and publish them in English, it is hard to guess. It is just as if somebody, lighting on some of the late English Atheistical pamphlets of Blount, or of —, or —, should think it a good employment, instead of burning them,

to translate them into other languages, and send them about the world. The book called *Toldoth Jesu* (out of which he takes the most) is a book commonly mentioned with abhorrence for its blasphemy, and scorn for its dulness. I think, I remember some years ago an advertisement in the Holland prints, of somebody that had translated it into some vulgar language: and had a conceit of his skill in doing it enough, and reverence for Christ little enough, to desire it might be published; but his friends, being Christians, over-ruled him, and got him to burn it. I have forgot the man's name: I think it could not be Mr. Gale, because of his age; but certainly some such friends Mr. Gale wanted at this time, when he resolved, at p. 335, to venture (as he calls it) to mention some of the least shocking of those blasphemies; even these do shock every Christian reader.

The old blasphemous books of Celsus, Porphyry, Julian the Apostate, and others then written against the Christian religion, though set forth with a great deal of wit and learning (such as makes our modern Atheists and Deists look, in comparison, as a parcel of very sordid imitators) and, therefore, thought fit by some Christians to be preserved, — were, however, for the odiousness of the subject, by the far major part thought fitter to be burned; and accordingly they (and also the books of the old blasphemous heretics) are (except some fragments, which, by being confuted, have been preserved) long ago extinguished. How much more ought this putrid rubbish, which Mr. Gale here rakes together and translates, to have been so served!

Those Rabbins, out of whom he fetches these blasphemies, are not (I think not one of them) those whom I had cited as mentioning the Jewish baptisms; and if they had, it had been nothing to the purpose; no more than if I had quoted Tacitus upon any dispute of the Roman customs or history, he should for answer have recited and translated for the use of an English reader those vile reproaches which that historian casts

on the Jews and Christians, on God, and on our blessed Saviour.

The testimonies of those Christian writers which he quotes, from that p. 348, to the end of the chapter, setting forth the character of the Jewish writers; as that they are, for the most part, a vain, trifling, enthusiastic, perverse, and superstitious sort of people (for which he cites Justin Martyr, Scaliger, Buxtorf, Lightfoot, Du Pin, Le Clerc; and especially St. John Baptist, and St. Steven) is certainly true, and known to be so by every body; and one that spends so many words in proving it, must be almost as trifling as they; especially where it is nothing to the purpose, as it is not here, since (as I have been forced often to say) we do not appeal to them for any thing wherein their candour, judgment, or sincerity is depended on; but only perceive by their writings and ritual books, what their usages and tenets are; and this use of their writings, Mr. Gale knows very well that several of these same learned men, particularly Buxtorf and Lightfoot, do make to good purpose; for though they have no opinion of the men, yet, from their books and disputings, they came to a more particular understanding of their customs; to which customs the phrases of Scripture do often allude and refer; and the sense and meaning of such places of Scripture is thereby better understood.

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## CHAPTER IX.

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BESIDES the Jewish writers themselves, I quoted other ancient writers, some Heathens, some Christians, mentioning the Jewish custom of baptizing proselytes. — One was Arrian, a philosopher, living at Rome.

Mr. Gale excepts against his evidence, as not early enough: 150 years after Christ.

Suppose it were so much after Christ's birth (as it was almost) is not this an evidence coming very near to the time of John's and Christ's baptizing?

He says again, That perhaps Arrian might mistake the Christians for the Jews; and spends several pages in reaching after probabilities for this conjecture; but those so rambling, and little to the purpose, that I, who knew that a learned man or two had spoken of this as possible, do count it less probable after having read these pages.

At best, it is but a conjecture. The plain words, repeated several times, are *The Jews*. The same answerer should not give both these answers. First, That it was too long after Christ's time; — secondly, That it was not long enough after his time for the Christians to be distinguished from the Jews. If there were no other evidence beside this, That the Jews used baptism as well as the Christians, there were more room for this guess; but this, corroborated by so many more, renders the evasion very precarious.

P. 363. He is fain to use the very same shift for Gregory Nazianzen: that he lived too late to be an evidence. All learned men know how much his testimony is valued for the customs of Christians; and there is the same reason for his knowing those of the Jews, — many of whom lived in that country.

Mr. Gale says his words may be understood (nay, he insults any one that understands them otherwise) of washings for uncleanness, and not of any initiatory baptism. This he confidently says, though the comparison be there purposely made between Moses's baptism and John's, which was an initiatory one; and Christ's, which was also plainly such; and though the words themselves [*Moses baptized, but that was with water only; and before that, in the cloud and in the sea*] do compare two several baptisms of Moses, — that at Mount Sinai, with that in the cloud and in the sea; which last St. Paul himself speaks of as an initiatory baptism, and a type of the Christian baptism, and laying like obligations on the Jews, as the other

does on Christians ; which is a quite different purpose from that of washings for uncleanness.

I quoted St. Cyprian and St. Basil speaking of the same Jewish baptism. Mr. Gale did not care to repeat them ; and has nothing else to say, but that they amount to no more than St. Gregory's ; and if they amount to so much, it is sufficient, especially since St. Cyprian will surely be allowed for an ancient evidence ; and he is there giving the reason why the apostles, in instructing and baptizing a Jew, had no need of pains to teach him the doctrine and belief of the Father, but only of the Son (whereas a Gentile must be instructed concerning the Father, as well as the Son, and the Holy Spirit) ; "for the Jews had," says he, "already, and a long time ago, the baptism of the law, and of Moses, and were now to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ." Now, could any man living, beside Mr. Gale, have the forehead to say that St. Cyprian does not here speak of such a Mosaical baptism as was initiatory into a certain faith or profession, — the faith of the true God ?

Though this, and some of the rest, be exceeding plain, yet this answerer draws his conclusion, at

P. 365, without altering his countenance at all ; but, turning confidently to his *Sir*, tells him, "It is sufficiently evident Mr. Wall has said nothing which rises to any probable proof ; for I leave you to judge whether every pretence to this has not been sufficiently refuted." He puts a great confidence in his judge.

I quoted Tertullian, ancients than any of the rest ; and also St. Paul, testifying that *all the Jews*, at their coming out of Egypt (before the washings for legal pollutions were instituted) *were baptized unto Moses* (1 Cor. x. 1, 2) ; which same expression St. Cyprian (as I shewed) uses for their being baptized into the faith of Jehovah. To all this he says nothing.

P. 365. He will no longer be on the defensive ; but will undertake to prove the negative, viz. "That the Jews had no initiatory baptism. The Scripture (he says) makes no mention of it ;" though I had quoted

St. Paul's words just before. I added also another text (Exod. xix. 10) which the Jews themselves, as I shewed, understood of an initiatory baptism at their entering into the covenant of the Ten Commandments and other laws at Mount Sinai or Horeb.

He proves that they could not then, by that washing at Sinai, enter into covenant; "for that they had done before by circumcision."

This he says, though the Scripture does expressly say that they did then enter into covenant; and there be recited the particular interrogations and answers of it; and in a recital of another covenant forty years after (Deut. xxix. 1) it be said That *that* covenant in the land of Moab was *beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb*. Though they had circumcision as the seal of the covenant with Abraham, that does not hinder but baptism might be a seal of this. As the Jewish writers do all say that their fathers entered into covenant by these three things: — Circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice; and of this last also the Scripture uses the same phrase (Psalm l. 5) *Those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice*.

P. 367. Whereas the words of that text (Exod. xix. 10) are *Sanctify them, &c. and let them wash their clothes, and be ready against the third day, &c.*; and I had shewn from Maimon, the Gemara Aben Ezra, Selden quoting a great number of Rabbies, that (beside their understanding that *sanctifying* to be *washing*) the Jews did apprehend, that wherever in the law the washing of the clothes is commanded, it means much more the washing of the body itself: he denies that phrase to be so meant; and yet, in the same page, p. 367, heedlessly recites one of the texts from which it is plainly proved; which is Numb. xxxi. 19, 24. There all that Eleazar prescribes to such as had killed any person, or touched any slain, was *To purify themselves, &c.*: *And ye shall wash your clothes on the seventh day, and ye shall be clean*. Now, it is plain, from Numb. xix. 16, 17, 18, 19, that every person in their

circumstances was to wash or bathe his whole body, as well as his clothes.

P. 370. What he produces here out of Josephus and Philo, I shewed just now, in answering the beginning of his ninth chapter (where this ought to have come in, if anywhere) to be nothing to the purpose.

P. 371. If ever any man confuted himself, our author does it here; for his business was to deny that the Jews had any initiatory baptism; and particularly that the Scripture nowhere speaks of any such thing; and whereas I had produced two places of Scripture that do speak of it, he proves here, that the one does not speak of it, because the other does. St. Paul speaks of it in 1 Cor. x.; therefore, Exod. xix. does not; whereas if either of them speak of it, his argument is lost: — that in the cloud and in the sea, St. Paul calls *a baptism*; but that having been done in a transient and typical way, and without express covenanting, there might be afterward at Horeb a more explicit performance of the ceremonies.

By just the same arguing, he, in the next page, p. 372, overthrows the testimony which I brought of Nazianzen (Orat. 39) where he refers to both the said texts of Scripture, and distinguishes the two times. Mr. Gale pleads that Nazianzen paraphrases (1 Cor. x) *The sea typified the water, the cloud the Spirit*. True; but does not he, beside this, speak of the other? Moses “gave them a baptism; but that was with water only; and (πρὸ τούτου) before that, they were baptized in the cloud and in the sea.”

P. 373. He falls again upon that plea (which has been used two or three times, tho’ not worth once using) that he can name writers that make no mention of this Jewish baptism. “Barnabas,” he says, “has not one word;” and then two pages more spent in shewing that Justin Martyr has not one word of it neither. Does he think any one will read them over to see whether he say true or not? What does it avail that they do not mention it, if St. Paul, and the Christian writers which I quoted, and so many of the Jewish writers themselves do?



But he produces a place in Justin where he thinks it must have been mentioned if there had been any such thing. Trypho acknowledges that the passover and other sacrifices could not be used now that the temple was destroyed. Justin asks what part of the legal ordinances did remain in use at such a time; Trypho answers "The Sabbaths, circumcision, the new moons, and baptizing upon uncleanness." Here, Mr. Gale says, he would have mentioned initiatory baptism if it had been in use with them.

He is so forgetful or impertinent as not to mind that this initiatory baptism was not by Trypho accounted necessary to the Jews themselves, but only to heathens proselyted; and Trypho was speaking only of what the Jews were to do.

And this, if he had thought of it, would have made him omit the quoting both that other place of Justin which he brings (p. 374) and the following one of Tertullian (p. 376) where he urges that Tertullian makes baptism to be a new ordinance. But the sense of the place is only this, That it began but now at Christ's time to be used on any posterity of the faithful.

P. 377. The saying of Origen, *Comment. in Joann.* p. 116, 117, looks most plausible for his turn of any; where Origen says, "He [Heracleon] cannot shew that any prophet did baptize." Οὐ γὰρ ἔχει δεῖξαι τίνα τῶν Προφητῶν βαπτίσαντα.

But it is a proof how a scrap of a line or two out of a discourse may be perverted by those that have the baseness to do it, to a sense quite contrary to the import of the discourse itself.

Origen is there commenting on that question of the Pharisees put to John Baptist (John i. 25) *Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias, nor that prophet?* He had observed before (p. 109) the difference between Προφήτης and ὁ Προφήτης, a prophet indefinitely, and that prophet; and that the question of the Jews is not to be understood concerning the ordinary prophets, but one particular one, whom they expected to come, that should be like unto Moses, as

Moses himself had foretold (Deut. xviii); and having by the way blamed many passages in Heracleon's comment on that text, and, particularly, that he had understood the word ὁ Προφήτης, in that question, of a prophet at large, he says (p. 116) that there may very well be returned this answer to that insulting demand of the Pharisees, who seem to have thought that the *Christ* and *Elias* were to baptize in their own persons, but that he was *The voice of one crying in the wilderness*, &c., might not baptize at all.

"You, sirs, do put to him who was sent as a messenger before the face of the Christ, to prepare his way before him, an unhandsome interrogation, being ignorant of all the mysteries that belong to his office; for *the Christ* (and *Jesus* was he though you would not have it so) did not baptize himself [or in his own person] but his disciples; and he it was that was *that prophet*; and what makes you think that *Elias* when he comes will baptize, Οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπὶ θυσιαστηρίον ξύλα, κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ἀχαάβ χρόνους, δεόμενα λουτροῦ ἵνα ἐκκαυθῇ ἐπιφανέντος ἐν πυρὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, βαπτίσαντος; ἐπικαλεῖται γὰρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; who in Ahab's time did not baptize the wood upon the altar which was to be washed before it was burnt up, when the Lord should shew himself in fire? for he ordered the priests to do that not only once, for he says Do it the second time, &c.; Ὁ τοίνυν μὴ αὐτὸς βαπτίσας τότε, ἀλλ' ἐτέροις τοῦ ἔργου παραχωρήσας. He, therefore, who did not himself [or, in his own person] baptize at that time, but left that work to others, how was he likely to baptize, βαπτίζειν ἔμελλε, when he, according to Malachi's prophecy, came? Therefore the Christ does not baptize with water, but his disciples; and he reserves to himself the baptizing with the Holy Spirit and with fire. But Heracleon admitting this speech of the Pharisees as good sense, περὶ τοῦ οφείλεισθαι τὸ βαπτίζειν τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ Ἠλίᾳ καὶ παντὶ Προφῆτῃ, αὐταῖς λέξεσί φησιν, Οἱς μόνους οφείλεται τὸ βαπτίζειν· καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐρμηνέων μὲν ἡμῖν ἐναγκὸς ἐλεγχόμενος; μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι κοινότερον τὸν Προφῆτην νενο-

ἔκεν. 'Οὐ γὰρ ἔχει δαῖσαι τινα τῶν Προφητῶν βαπτίσαντα. That both the Christ, and Elias, and every prophet ought to baptize, adds in express words, To whom alone the duty of baptizing belongs; who is sufficiently confuted by what I have just now said, especially where he takes the word for any ordinary prophet, for he cannot shew that any prophet did baptize."

Here the reader will observe these things.

First, What a trouble one has with such a quoter; for it is necessary to produce long passages *verbatim*, to shew the fallacy that lies hid in bringing a scrap of them to a purpose contrary to the true tenor of them; and, therefore, all ingenuous quoters, all that aim at truth, do scorn such a practice as much as they do false quoting.

Secondly, He will see that neither Heracleon, whom Origen confutes, nor Origen himself, do speak as if they thought there was no such baptism in the Jewish economy; but, on the contrary, they plainly suppose that there was such a thing, and that the Pharisees do here refer to it; only the Pharisees thought it was not to be administered to natural Jews by any, after Moses's time, but the Christ, or Elias, or *that prophet* whom they expected like unto Moses; and they thought *that prophet* a different person from the Christ, but Origen shews them to be both one, and that Jesus was he.

And, besides, Origen tells them that they had no reason to think that Elias or the Christ would baptize in their own persons, but by deputies, as Elias did not baptize the wood himself, but ordered it to be done; and as Jesus when he came did not himself baptize, but his disciples.

Heracleon thought that not only these, but any prophet might baptize. Origen shews him to be mistaken in that, if he mean κοινωρεῖν τινα προφήτην, any ordinary prophet, since he cannot shew that any prophet (meaning such an one) did use to baptize, nor the greater ones by themselves; so manifestly does Mr. Gale pervert the sense, when to Origen's words, *any*

*prophet*, he (in spite of Origen's distinction expressed in the line before) adds, Moses rendering it *Not any prophet, neither Moses, nor, &c.*

Both Origen and this heretic Heracleon must have well known the customs of the Jews, for they both lived at Alexandria in Egypt, where great numbers of Jews dwelt; Origen 110 years after the apostles, and Heracleon eighty years before, viz. thirty years after the apostles.

Thirdly, He will see that Origen here does plainly call pouring water on a thing *baptizing* it; for what Elias ordered (1 Kings xviii. 35) was, *Fill four barrels of water, and pour it on the burnt sacrifice, and on the wood*; and this he styles the *baptism* of the wood and sacrifice, which should have made Mr. Gale, when he read and quoted this place, for shame to have retracted what he so confidently had averred in his third, fourth, and fifth chapters, that *baptizing* never, in authors, signifies pouring of water, but always dipping.

What follows from this page to p. 380, and the usual boast with which he there concludes, I may well enough pass by; for what if St. Cyril, and the *Recognitions* and *Constitutions* (which, if I had quoted, he would have made an outcry of their being spurious) and Mr. Hill, do speak of other things used by the Jews and omitted by Christians, as sacrifices, legal washings, &c. the want of which things baptism does supply to us, and they do not at those particular places speak of this initiatory baptism of the Jewish nation at once, or of proselytes as they came in? Does it follow that a thing is not mentioned at all by authors, because it is not mentioned at every place where it might have been? Or is it (as he would here p. 379 represent) any absurdity in the Pædobaptists to maintain that both circumcision and the Jewish baptism might be types and forerunners of Christian baptism? The other sacrament of the Lord's Supper was signified by more than one judicial rite. He, indeed, stoutly concludes with averring that the fathers whom I quoted do not afford the least intimation, &c.; but the reader by this time knows the man; he is

the same that before would have made us believe that the Rabbies themselves do not sufficiently confirm their own customs, because there were two or three that did not mention them; and if he was urged with the custom which the Jews to this day do observe of baptizing proselytes, he looks as if he would deny it; but this is all false, and so is what comes next,

P. 380, where he says, "This custom of the Jews, though ever so true, can do no service," &c.; for it does not in the least appear that infants were so admitted. Any one that had read my quotations concerning this custom must needs here be amazed, because they speak of infants very particularly. But he says "I bring not the least colour of argument, but only cite," &c. Do matters of history or ancient facts use to be proved by arguments or citations of books of those times? But he says I cite only Rabbies. If that be all he has to object, why did he put the case, This custom, though ever so true? So it comes to the old evasion: The Jewish writers are men of no great judgment, therefore they cannot tell their own custom, whether at the baptism of a proselyte they did use to admit his children to baptism with him.

At last he will suppose it all to be true; and, if by adding he can do any mischief, will put some more to it. He mentions two cases (p. 381, 382, which yet are really but one) wherein the Christian baptism ought, he says, by my argument, to imitate the Jewish, which yet it does not, viz. the confining the use of baptism to new proselytes only; so that as the Jews, after the general baptism of their nation in Moses's time, did not continue to baptize their own children either in infancy or adult age, but only proselytes and their children, — so Christians should, if my argument be good, omit the baptizing of all that are born of baptized parents.

And to enforce this absurd consequence upon me, he sticks not at a practice which is base in any writer: he takes five or six words of mine [our Saviour gave no direction for alteration] which I had affixed to one sentence, to one purpose, and affixes them to a sentence of

another nature, and a contrary purpose. That in that page which he quotes of mine mentioned that custom of the Jews of omitting baptism in the case of the posterity of baptized persons, and had shewed (John iii. 6, 7) that *that* was by our Saviour altered; but going on to speak of that practice of the Jews, that all persons, whom they baptized at all, they baptized in infancy; if they had the possession of them in infancy, I add; And in this matter our Saviour gave no direction for alteration; what does our trickster do but cut off the words [*and in this matter*] that he might make the rest of the sentence serve any matter, and affix it at the tail of a sentence of his own, and quote me for it! and he does the same thing over again in the next page (382).

Here he would take an advantage from something said by Dr. Whitby; for an answer to which let him apply to him if he please.

As for what else may be necessary in answer to this Socinian argument against the general use of baptism among Christians, because the Jews did not use it generally, but only to new converts and their children, I refer to what I said above to Mr. Emlin, who (though managing it cordially for their interest, whereas this man treats it as absurd) yet scorned such unfair and preposterous ways of arguing.

But here Mr. Gale adds, that if we follow the Jews in baptizing infants, we might with as good reason give infants the Lord's Supper; for they caused them to eat of the Paschal Lamb.

I know not whether that matter of fact be true; and I think Mr. Stokes has given a sufficient answer to that, *Compass. Plea.* p. 30, 31.

P. 383. He would prove that St. John Baptist baptized no infants. He brings from Scripture no proofs but what have been answered a hundred times; such places of Scripture-history as do in a brief and general way give account in a few lines of the substance of what St. John did in several years, cannot be supposed to descend to particular circumstances. Multitudes came in and were baptized, confessing their sins. What children

they brought with them need not be mentioned, especially to the Jewish Christians (and to them St. Matthew wrote) who knew the custom of their nation to bring their children with them into covenant. If St. John had been sent to convert and circumcise any uncircumcised nation, so short an account of his success would hardly have had any mention of the children; and yet no man would have doubted of there being some among them. Mr. Gale would have the expression of St. Matthew to be, "As many as he baptized confessed their sins." But that is to serve a cause; and so Acts xix. 4, which he quotes.

P. 385. John baptized with the baptism of repentance, is, as Mr. Stokes observes, no more than what is said of circumcision (Rom. iv. 11) that it is a *seal of the righteousness of faith*; yet every one knows that it does not exclude infants who are at present as incapable of faith as they are of repentance.

The places which he here cites of Josephus and Origen are yet less to the purpose, there being nothing in them from which any one can guess that they had at the writing of them any thought at all, *pro* or *contra*, about any children being there; they do only observe that it was necessary for the adult that came to confess their sins, and amend their lives. At last,

P. 386, he brings the objection which I had recited of Mr. Stennet, That if the Jews had such a custom of baptizing proselytes and their children, it must have been an invention of their own, being not commanded in the law of God.

To that I gave two answers; Mr. Gale takes notice only of the first, That they quoted, as we see, texts of Scripture, such as I there mentioned. He says "What then? they may cite the whole Bible, though not a word in it makes for them;" and a few more such huffing expressions; but nothing to overthrow the interpretations they gave.

I answered, secondly, Putting the case that they mistook the sense of those texts, yet when they had upon that authority established a practice of baptizing prose-

lytes and their children, and that practice had now continued many ages, if our Saviour had meant that the apostles, in baptizing proselytes of the nations, should have altered that practice, and denied baptism to the children of such proselytes as they baptized, we have all the reason in the world to think that he would have forewarned them of it; and I instanced in a like case that might have been put if the nations had been required to keep the feasts; among which was the feast of Dedication, not commanded by God, and yet kept for many ages, and observed by Christ himself.

To this Mr. Gale replies nothing at all (though every Antipædobaptist, who is convinced that they had such a custom must be moved by it, to see that our Saviour, who must know of the custom, gives no caution against it); but he only runs out to the end of the chapter in an account (not at all to the purpose here) of the distinction of several sorts of traditions of the Jews, how some were more firmly grounded than others; whereas our main question is of the matter of fact, whether there were such a custom or not.

The most trifling of all is his attempt to evade the force of that passage in the *Talmud* (*Jeremoth*, c. iv) concerning the dispute between Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua (of which I thought I had said enough in my Introduction to hinder any one's running into the same paralogism). He says,

P. 389, Since those Rabbins controvert the baptism of proselytes, it cannot be thought a tradition of Moses, &c. Now he need but open his eyes to see that they do not controvert the duty of such a baptism no more than the duty of circumcision, but only the question Whether one of these, and which of them, may denominate a man a proselyte, if the other of them be by some chance missing?

And the same oversight was at his p. 387, where he takes baptism (and he might as well have proved circumcision) to be established on the pronouncing of the wise men; whereas it is only the determination of the foresaid question which they found upon that.



The bragging conclusion (p. 391) I would not have the reader overlook; nor would Mr. Gale, I suppose, because he is careful constantly to use it, so that one might know any book of his by it.

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## CHAPTER X.

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HERE begins (that with which his book should have begun if he had meant it an answer to mine) his ventilation of the passages which I brought of the fathers or ancient Christians. He at first spends two or three leaves in talking backward and forward about the regard which ought to be given to the fathers, concerning which he thinks it worth the reader's while to know his opinion. I think not; partly for other reasons, and partly because one part of it destroys the other. The chapter itself begins at

P. 400 with a malevolent and ungrateful accusation of my performance in collecting their sayings, as if I had set down those which are (as he styles it) *for* my purpose; and omitted those *against* infant baptism.

I made a profession that *that* collection should be impartial, and if it be valuable for any thing, it is for that; as it had been an ill thing in me to break that promise; so it is a base thing, if I have not, to accuse me falsely of doing so. I have received the acknowledgment of several readers, both of the impartiality used in collecting, and of the civil treatment of the Antipædobaptists; but the talent of some writers consists in railing.

One thing is visible to every body, that I have produced several quotations, making for their side of the question, which none of their writers had found or knew of. On the other side, it is possible that some might escape me; I never pretended otherwise; yet so it has

happened, that none since, that I know of, have been produced (and particularly none by Mr. Gale, which is a poor thing in an antagonist) except such as I spoke of in the beginning of my second part, and gave the reasons for my omitting them, viz. such as are either spurious, too late, nothing to the purpose, or, &c. ; under which last sort, of those nothing to the purpose, I comprehended all such as do speak of the baptism of adult persons (which every body acknowledges was common at the planting of Christianity) but without any note of denying it to infants.

Now, whatever may be said of others, These two out of Barnabas, which he here brings as omitted by me, and making against infant baptism, are plainly not at all to the purpose.

And the first of them is one which I did quote at large ; and I was the first that I knew of that discovered it to relate at all to baptism ; not to the question of infant baptism, but to that ceremony of giving a taste of milk and honey to the new baptized person, whether infant or adult. It is recited (much fuller than he recites it) in my part 2, chap. 9 (so shameless is he for charging me with omitting it, even if it had been to his purpose) ; he takes a scrap of the end of my quotation and puts it among his authorities ; it proves nothing but the foresaid ceremony.

The second does, indeed, speak of the baptism of adult persons (to which purpose he might have produced a hundred in a day's time) as if any one did not know that multitudes of new converts were at that time baptized, and that their baptism is more often and more largely spoken of than that of their children ; against which baptism of their children there is nothing in this, nor in any other passage of Barnabas.

The two first chapters of my book have (as I declared in the Preface) no quotations that speak expressly of infant baptism, but of original sin as it affects infants ; of the necessity of baptism to salvation ; of baptism succeeding circumcision, &c. The two first, which I bring from Clemens Romanus, to shew how fully he

owns original sin or pollution in infants, are not, he says, at

P. 401, "Plain to prove that." And in the first of them, he says, "Clement says nothing of it, nor seems to have had the least thought of it." Let any one read it, and particularly these words in it, "There is none free from pollution; no, not though his life be but of the length of one day;"—and judge of this man's face.

The other, which speaks of the woful state in which we came into this world, cannot, he says, be meant of original sin; because Clement in the next words gives God thanks, which thanks are intended by Clement for our deliverance from that woful state; which inference could not be made but by a man of great reach and judgment.

P. 402. He gives us his own arguings and sentiments of the point of original sin, which they that have an opinion of his skill in divinity may do well to read. The most observable thing in them is the cunning to ingratiate himself with his neighbour Antipædobaptists, many of whom deny it, and yet not displease the others who hold it, which are the far major part; and, therefore, he says, Baptism is not so much intended for the remission of original as of actual sins. This is mincing. What follows shews his meaning to be, that it is not for the former at all.

P. 405. On that vision of Hermas, where the tower, that is to say, the church, is built upon the water, and the explication given, "Because your life is saved by water;"—he grants that the church triumphant is there built out of the church militant; and the church militant is, indeed, built on the water of baptism; and yet says that Hermas does nowhere suppose that none can be saved who are not members of the church militant; which any one of common sense (whether they have been at a private academy or not) does perceive to be the denying the conclusion; for what is the church triumphant but the number of those that are saved?

But he objects that the stones of which the church (or tower in that vision) is built are only adult persons,

which he proves by an induction of the particular sorts of stones there mentioned; and adds (at p. 408) that I have no ground to assert that my inference will more plainly appear from the next passage, which I cite from *Hermas* (lib. 3, sim. 9) which is nothing but a fuller and larger explication of this vision here; and in which what is here represented by sorts of stones, is there represented by so many sorts of hills, out of which the stones are dug.

Now, I say that in that larger explication *infants* are particularly mentioned, as I had quoted; for in one of those hills, and in the best of them, the twelfth, called there *The White Hill*, it is said of that hill, "They are all as infants," and are better than any sort before mentioned; "for all that continue as infants, without malice, shall be more honoured, &c.; for all infants are valued by the Lord, and esteemed the first of all." — Now, if we remember what he said before, "The church of those which are saved is built on water;" and "Before any one receives the name of the Son of God, he is liable to death; but when he receives that seal, he is assigned to life. Now that seal is water," — meaning the water of baptism in the name of Christ; and subjoin to it what he says here of infants. This enforces a conclusion, that infants (since they are of those that are most capable of God's kingdom) should have this seal given them.

And whereas he would impute to us the harshness of that conclusion, That if it be so, no infant, or other, that dies unbaptized, can be saved; he knows, if he would own it, that we are farther from determining absolutely cases of that nature than he and his partners are. We look on these rules of *Hermas*, or the like of *St. John* iii. 5, to be obliging to us, and directions for our practice, without pretending to determine what allowances God will make, either to Heathen men and their infants, or in the cases of Christians and their infants, which are extraordinary.

I said "That this declaration in *Hermas*, that the seal of the Son of God is necessary for all that do enter into the

kingdom, and that *that* seal is water," is an expression of that definition of our Saviour, which St. John did afterwards put into writing (John iii. 5) *Except any one be born of water, &c.* Upon which he grounds this immodest cavil (p. 409) That I seem to import that St. John copied these words from Hermas.

It can seem so to nobody but to him. Nay, I believe it did not so seem to him; but only he had a mind to catch at an occasion of reproach. My words import no more than that our Saviour having given such a rule, the Christians of Hermas's time must needs know it; and Hermas (or the angel, if it were a proper revelation) might express the substance of it before St. John had in his Gospel set down the words themselves.

P. 409. He says he will take this occasion to *examine* a little those words of our Saviour (John iii. 5); and gives his reason: Because I, as well as the other Pædobaptists, do here and elsewhere argue from them; and he spends fourteen pages upon it; and, as if he had forgot whose words they are, his way of examining them is in a much like indecent manner, as he uses in examining the words of any antagonist that he had a mind to overthrow.

But before he began, should he not have heard the voice of his conscience saying to him, "If you do set yourself to answer this, and his other proofs from Scripture, you ought to blot out all your sixth chapter, wherein you broadly said that he brings no proofs at all from Scripture; nay, that he owns there are none; else your readers, comparing the one with the other, will perceive the falsehood;" but he ventures that; — and at

P. 410, first labours to defend the late Bishop of Salisbury's notion, That by the *kingdom of God* in that text is meant, not Heaven, but the Church on Earth; and by some flattering eulogiums of his Lordship's *unanswerable arguings*, &c. seems to have aimed at currying favour; and whereas I had said that all the antients understand it in this place of *the kingdom of glory*, — he says "Yet it may not be the true sense, if they do; for

the antients were fallible," &c. It seems he can find no *unanswerable arguments* among them; for they were all dead, and had no places to give.

P. 411. He says, The authorities I make use of, to prove the ancient interpretation to be *the kingdom of glory*, are "all too late, and of those centuries wherein Pædobaptism prevailed. If I had cited the writers of the three first centuries, it had been considerable."

To cite any writers of any centuries, wherein Pædobaptism did not prevail, is more than I can do; but if those of the three first centuries will satisfy him, I refer him to my second edition (part 2, chap. vi); which he must have seen, or else he is a very careless answerer of a book: I shall not transcribe here the reasons and authorities which I there give. He will see there Hermas in the apostles' time, and Tertullian a hundred years after, cited; beside others referred to. To which references may be added the explication of this text given by Nemesianus, in his sufferage delivered in the Council of Carthage, under St. Cyprian. He expounds it *Salvi esse non possunt; sed in judicio Christi damnabuntur*. After all, I do not see, as I there said, what the Antipædobaptists gain by the other interpretation; nor would I eagerly contend with any one that takes the words here to mean *the church*. I own, they are in many places of the gospel so taken.

P. 412. He begins a new dispute about the comprehensiveness of the particle *τις* in this text (which he had yielded at p. 409); and proves from Thucydides, &c. that *τις* does not signify *every*; but in the next page, after much belabouring himself, he recollects (a thing which any boy could have told him at first) that though, in an affirmative preposition, *τις* does not signify *all* or *every*; yet, in a negative one, *ἐν μὴ τις* signifies *not any*, or *none*; so that our Saviour's words amount to this: — *None but those born of water, &c. can enter*.

P. 414. He is at last forced to run to the same kind of answer to this text as Mr. Emlin before had used, viz. That though *ἐν μὴ τις* do, in words, make a general

negative, yet it must be restrained to the subjects there spoken of; which Mr. Emlin would have to be "such as are converted from infidelity;" that fitted his turn best, that our Saviour should say, "Except any one of those that are newly converted from infidelity, be born again," &c.; but the descendants of believers may have the kingdom without it; whereas our Saviour's words are, *All that is born of the flesh.*

Mr. Emlin's guess, as it had but little ground, so he expressed it with brevity and modesty; but here we have a ramble and a wild-goose chase, to find what is meant by *any one*. Any one what? says Mr. Gale. Any one being? — any one angel? — any one man, woman, child? [This is his way of *examining* the words of our blessed Saviour, as if he had some sophister, his fellow, to oppose.] At last he fixes it for his own hypothesis, as the other had done for his: "Any one who is come to the use of his reason, and has heard the word," &c. (as if they only were to be admitted to the kingdom of Heaven); "and this (says he) we assert as the only genuine meaning of our Lord's words."

I do not deny but that, in many propositions of Scripture, however generally expressed, we must limit the meaning to such subjects as the context does shew to be the only ones there intended, provided those limitations be plainly grounded on the context.

As here: — The discourse of our Saviour is plainly concerning human persons already born; because he speaks of the necessity of their being *born again*; and their first birth was *of the flesh*, as he says in the next words.

And they must be such as are in a capacity, or may be brought to a capacity, of being members of the *kingdom of God*; for the main discourse is about bringing them thither.

And such as are in a capacity to be baptized with water (which our Saviour here expresses *born of water*) and by the mercy of God put into a new spiritual state by the virtue and influence of the Holy Spirit, which he here expresses *born of the Spirit*.

These qualifications are spoken of in the context, and no other; — none concerning the age of the person; nor any concerning the state of his parents, Heathen or Christian; therefore, the words of Christ being universal for all such, the Socinians, unless they can maintain that one descended of Christian parents is not at first *born of the flesh*, must not make limitations of their own; but must (if they would have the person come to the kingdom) bring him, as well as they would a converted Heathen, to this *new birth of water and of the Spirit*.

And so the Antipædobaptists, if they do confess that their children are *born of the flesh*, and yet do wish, pray, and hope, that being dedicated to Christ, they shall come to the kingdom of God, and cannot deny but a child is capable of being washed with water, nor will deny (but on the contrary, hope) that their child is capable of having the benefits of Christ's covenant sealed and applied to him by the Spirit of God, must not make limitations of their own to this universal law and command of Christ, which requires this *new birth of water and of the Spirit*, in order to their entering God's kingdom; and makes no exception or distinction of infant or adult; but allows to both of them an admission into his kingdom.

Of these qualifications mentioned, the only one of which they can make any doubt is, How an infant can be *born of the Spirit*. Of this I had given the sense of the ancient Christians (part 1, chap. xv); and also in the explication and enforcement of this text (part 2, ch. vi); and shewed that the Antipædobaptists do own that the Spirit of Christ is applied to infants, and unites them to him; and quoted the words of Mr. Tombs and of Mr. Danvers.

Mr. Gale (at p. 422, 423) recites some of my words, — does not offer to deny that the “Holy Spirit does seal and apply pardon of sin, and other promises of the covenant, to the infant;” but only mentions some other offices of the Holy Spirit in the adult, over and besides those which infants are capable of.



Now, that does not hinder but that an infant may be *born again of the Spirit* by those operations of the Spirit of which his state is then capable, though he have not at present some farther graces of the Spirit, of which the adult only are capable, of which those particular texts cited by Mr. Gale do speak.

In this rule of our Saviour, pronounced so solemnly, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, except any one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*,—Mr. Emlin adds, of his own head, and without any ground from the text, “A Heathen converted cannot, nor can his children; but a man or child born of Christian parents may;”—and Mr. Gale, with no better ground than the other, is fain to add to Christ’s words, and make them run thus:—“No *adult* person can; but a child may.”

The reasons he gives why this rule cannot concern infants, are these:—

P. 415. First, They do not know this law, therefore it cannot oblige them.

Just what might have been said of the infants of the Jews. They did not know the law of circumcision; yet God Almighty told their parents, that those of their children whom they refused or neglected to circumcise, should be cut off. A benefactor, who promises to adopt a poor man’s child, and make him his heir, if he will give up his child to him, is not bound to do it if the parent refuse. Christ promises the kingdom of Heaven to our children, if we will dedicate them to him in the sacrament of dedication which he has appointed. He does not promise it if we refuse. It is not a thing due to them by Nature. This benefit, or this loss, concerns the child, although at that time he knew it not.

Page 416. He makes his second reason by confronting a saying of St. Peter to this of Christ:—(1 Pet. iii. 21) *Baptism saveth us; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God.*

Mr. Stokes serves him in his kind. He bids him do

with this text as he did with John iii. 5, put in the word *adult* here, as he did there.

Dr. Whitby had given a better answer to their argument from hence. That St. Paul (Rom. ii. 28, 29) says of circumcision the same thing in effect that St. Peter does here of baptism, That the true circumcision is not that which is outward in the flesh, but the inward circumcision of the heart and spirit; and yet none would argue from thence that circumcision should not be given to infants, who could not at that time have the circumcision of the heart.

Mr. Gale labours to shew a difference; but in vain, as any one will see; — the aim of St. Paul being to inculcate this, That any one's circumcision, which he had received in infancy, would not avail him, if after he grew up, he did not circumcise his heart, and keep the covenant which circumcision had sealed to him; — and St. Peter's words running in the same style, are plainly capable of the same sense, That, baptism received in infancy would not save the man who did not, after he came to age, with a good conscience, make good the engagements of the Christian religion, into which he had been by it entered; therefore, as St. Paul's words cannot be made an argument to prove that circumcision was not then received in infancy (it being notorious that it was) no more can St. Peter's words argue that baptism was not then given in infancy by the Christians to such children as they had.

Nay, further, if St. Paul do so speak of circumcision, which was then administered to infants only, and had been by himself received in infancy, much more might St. Peter so speak of baptism, which at that time had more subjects which had received it at their adult age than they were who had received it in infancy (and St. Peter himself was one of them); and yet not imply any denial of the benefit of it to the children of Christians, provided they did, when they came to age, perform the duties of it.

And this comparison and parallelism of St. Paul's words about circumcision, with those of St. Peter about

baptism, does not only take off the objections of the Antipædobaptists raised from this text of St. Peter, but all that they raise from other texts, where baptism, and the following duties and effects of it, are put together in the same sentence. Such as Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, *Baptize, &c.; teaching them, &c.* Rom. vi. 4, *Buried with him in baptism, &c. that we should walk, &c.*; and at other places, The baptism of repentance, and the like.

For when St. Paul says here, *Circumcision profiteth, if thou keep the law*; and a little after speaks of such as *by the letter and circumcision do transgress the law*, — he does not, though he join them in one sentence, mean that, at the same time when they were circumcised, they did either *keep or transgress* the law; but only that, as they grew up, they did some of them keep, — some of them transgress; so the forecited texts, and such other, though they join them together in one sentence, do not necessarily imply that at the same time they were baptized and taught, baptized and walked in newness of life, baptized and repented, but that, as they grew up, they had these consequences of teaching, walking, repenting, &c.

Such expressions would fit, not only those that had been baptized when adult (as most of the Christians in the apostles' time had) but (as we see by St. Paul's speaking in just the same phrase concerning circumcision) those who had received baptism in infancy.

Mr. Gale pleads that the cases of St. Peter's and St. Paul's discourse are not parallel. First, Because St. Paul does not say of circumcision (as St. Peter does of baptism) *not this has the good effect, but the other*; which is broadly to deny St. Paul to say that which he plainly does say.

Secondly, Because St. Paul does not speak this of *circumcision* while it continued in force; but now it was abolished.

But (as Mr. Stokes well answers) the Jewish Christians (to whom St. Paul here speaks) did even then use

it, and reckon it to be still in force as to Jews, though not to Gentiles. Acts xxi. 20, &c.

And St. Paul says here, *Circumcision profiteth if thou keep the law*. By which it appears that his argument to them is *ad hominem*, supposing and speaking to them of it as it was when it was in full force.

And besides, what St. Paul here says, is in effect the same with what is said (Deut. x. 16; also xxx. 6; Jer. iv. 4) when it was in full force.

P. 418. His third exception against my arguing from this text, is that trite one: — That our Saviour (John vi. 53) makes the same necessity of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, as, in John iii. 5, he does of being baptized; therefore, since it is confessed that *that* eating and drinking (whether it be understood of the sacramental eating or of faith in Christ) does not belong to infants, we should, by the same reason, account them to be excepted in the other command of baptism.

This has been answered a hundred times: — That all commands of God or man (how general soever the words are) are to be understood as meant and directed to such only as are capable of the thing commanded. Mr. Gale often urges this rule. I said we do not deny it. The command of actual faith (which, he thinks, is the meaning of *eating* in John vi.) is plainly impossible to infants; but their baptism, their being dedicated to Christ, is not at all. The command to all Jews to worship, offer sacrifice, &c. did, by the nature of the thing, concern only the adult. The command that all males be circumcised, concerned all without exception, infants as well as adult; because of that they were capable; so in the case of these texts. Infants being excepted in the application of the command (John vi) of which they are (if actual faith be there meant) as yet in no wise capable, is no argument that they should be excluded from the benefit of John iii. 5, of which they are capable.

Neither do the expressions of our Saviour run alike in both the places. That of John vi, was spoken to persons that could hear and be admonished: *Except ye eat,*

&c. and can concern only such : — that of John iii. is a general definition of the state of all persons born of the flesh : *Except any one be born again.* Baptism is the sacrament of initiation, or entering into covenant ; and of that infants are capable ; and whereas Mr. Gale, in the next pages, brings more instances of things of which infants are not capable : — Mark xvi. 16, *He that believeth not shall be damned* ; — John iii. 18, *He that believeth not, is condemned already* ; where infants cannot, by the nature of the thing, be meant, they avail him nothing toward a proof that they are not meant here.

P. 420. He will needs give us his opinion, what God will do in reference to the eternal state of those adults among the Heathens who have neither faith nor baptism. In which matters, so far out of human reach, the more forward any one is to obtrude his opinion, the less it is to be regarded. This however he gives but as an opinion, “ We have reason to hope,” &c. ; but concerning the eternal state of *infants* dying unbaptized (as he would have all that die in infancy to do) he is more positive, and talks with as much assurance of the decrees of God, as any confident man can do of matters of his trade, or any mountebank of his skill in receipts ; so that no Pope, with St. Peter’s keys in his hand, can more peremptorily dispose of places in the kingdom of Heaven ; — for,

P. 421, he makes that his fourth reason against the baptizing of infants, in order to their admission into Heaven, that all infants (meaning, as his words shew) baptized or not, of Heathen or of Christian parents, of the wicked as well as of the godly, shall assuredly be saved.

’ If modesty be necessary anywhere, it is when we speak of the future judgments of God in cases not revealed. Godly parents in all ages have been solicitous for the salvation of their children ; and inasmuch as they have been, under God, the authors of their being, Nature itself, as well as God’s word, has strongly inclined them to wish, pray, and endeavour that *that* be-

ing might become a happy and advantageous, and not a miserable being to them; and accordingly have been careful to use any means prescribed by God Almighty for that purpose.

The godly Jews, to make use of that seal of circumcision to enter them into God's gracious covenant, whereby he had promised them *to be a God to them and their seed*; to use their own prayers, and to bring them to any prophet or holy man and desire him to bless them in the name of God, &c.: the godly Christians to bring them to Christ to be dedicated to him and the Father and Holy Spirit, to be baptized in that holy name for the forgiveness and washing off that stain and pollution which is, by corrupt nature, in which they were conceived and born: — to implore the mercy of God to receive and admit them into that his merciful covenant made to mankind, by which he will *for Christ's sake, and to all that are his*, give an eternal life; which is a greater and higher advantage than could naturally be expected for them; — and to desire that, in order to obtain this inestimable benefit, there be used, beside their own prayers, the prayers and offices of Christ's minister, and of his church.

Now this man would have nothing of this to be done; but says, in effect, It is more than needs. The child, without all this, is as safe as with it; and after all this, the child of an Atheist, who regards not Christ or his covenant, or any prayer to him, or sacrament of his, is as safe as this child.

If you enquire for the ground of this strange assurance, you have his dictate: "If there be any mercy in God, all infants, who could never offend him, shall assuredly be saved;" — and by *being saved*, he does not mean only (as some of the Greek Church did, and as the Roman does now) that unbaptized infants, and Heathen mens' infants, shall be in a state of little or no punishment or suffering; but he means (as appears by his other words) shall have *the kingdom of Heaven*; and this without inserting any thing of Christ's mediation and death as the meritorious cause of their salvation;

but so pleads their cause at this place, as if they needed it not. Let him, therefore, be the man to answer the challenge which St. Austin, 1400 years ago, made to any impious person, who, when infants were brought to church to be baptized, should "dare to affirm that they may be saved without that regeneration, as if Christ had not died for them; for it was sinners that he died for," &c.; and to say (as he there sets him a form) "Carry back from hence these innocent creatures. *The whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners.*" St. Austin thought there would never be any Christian presumptuous enough to accept this challenge. He says there (*De Peccat. Merit.* lib. 1, c. 18). "Such a thing never was said, nor never will be said in the Church of Christ." There was never a Mr. Gale at that time; and he thought, never would be.

But thou, Christian reader, if thou hast children, especially such as are in danger of death, and hast that pious concern for their everlasting welfare, and for their obtaining that heavenly purchase of Christ, even eternal life, which every good parent ought to have, — depend not on any such mountebank assurances, or arrogant dictates of men that make so bold with God's judgments, as if they themselves were judges; but humbly apply to Christ himself (who has procured this wonderful favour) and to his word; and seek for such assurances for thy child's soul as are grounded on that, and not on men's bold reasonings; — use earnest prayers to God in the name of Christ, that, for his sake (and not merely because it has never actually offended him) it may be received into those everlasting habitations which he has prepared for all that are *his*, and for none else. Do not conceive of Heaven as of a place due to human nature, though it could be conceived innocent. — much less in the corrupt state that it is now in. Remember what David says of our natural birth, Ps. li. 5.

Pray particularly that God would not remember thy sins, or the sins of its other forefathers; but that its soul may be washed from all pollution in the blood of that

immaculate Lamb, which only can make a soul pure enough to be received into the place that was purchased by it. Read that record of God, 1 John v. 11, 12, *That God has given us an eternal life; and this life is in [or by] his Son. He that has the Son [or has an interest in the Son] has this life; he that has not the Son of God, has not life.* No man will, or dare say, infants shall be excepted in that sentence, which requires that they be in Christ, or *have Christ* for their Saviour; nor can give any good proof that they shall be excepted in this before us; — for which way come they to belong to Christ, or to have him, but as they are dedicated and entered into his covenant in the way that he has appointed for all whom he will save to be entered?

Read that godly saying of the pious and judicious Mr. Hooker (which I recited, part 2, ch. vi.) in his *Eccl. Pol.* lib. 5, § 59, 60, “If Christ himself, who giveth salvation, do require baptism, it is not for us to sound and examine him, whether unbaptized persons may be saved; but seriously to do what is required,” &c. The words of Christ are general: — *Except any one*; and (Mat. xxviii) *All nations*. He does nowhere except infants.

Mr. Gale says “They never could offend him.” No more could the brute creatures. Shall they, therefore, go to Heaven? But he will say these are of human race. Has human race any claim to Heaven? It is the peculiar purchase of our blessed Saviour for all those of human race that are *his*. He procured it, and has granted a possibility and promise of it to mankind, under certain limitations and conditions (without excepting infants); one of which conditions is this of the text.

He says, if it be so, then “millions of infants will not be saved;” and he had made before the like objection concerning all the Heathen world, — the adult Heathens.

To all which sort of bold enquiries we can return only this: Christ has told *us*, to whom his word is come,



what *we ourselves* are to expect; concerning those to whom it never came, whoever busily enquires of him *And what shall these men do?* — or, What shall become of them? — does in effect receive from him this answer, “What is that to thee?” He has said in general, The servant that knew not his master’s will, and did things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; and more than that, he has not told us of their fate; — and of their children nothing at all. He will, we need not fear, deal with all men, adult and infant, according to rules of justice and equity; but if a man, a worm, will not trust him with the ordering of those rules, but will demand before-hand what he will do with such, and what with such, *he giveth not account of any of his matters.* A modest and humble speculation about such things may be useful, or, however, excusable; but to talk and determine after this arrogant rate, *if, there be any mercy in him,* he will do so with these, and so with those, is good for nothing, but to create in us an abhorrence of the bold presumption of the determiner.

He says, “Infinite Mercy cannot make the happiness of any of his creatures depend upon conditions that were impossible for them to perform.”

As for any happiness that was due to them, this may indeed be a rule; but the kingdom of Heaven is not due to all his creatures; and where it is not due, he may do what he will with his own, and set what conditions he thinks fit; and, as for this condition of receiving baptism in his name, he may well say to any parent, “If you will dedicate yourself to me by baptism, and live accordingly, you shall be admitted to that happiness; and so shall your children, if you will dedicate them, and they do not afterward, by their own rebellion, forfeit it.”

This condition, Mr. Gale says, is *impossible* for the child to perform. True; if he has an Antipædobaptist parent, or an Heathen parent, or a very careless Christian parent; but even in that case, the child (suppose he do miss of the kingdom of Heaven, as all the

ancient Christians, when they expound this text, do think he will) does not lose any happiness that was due to him; and for other children, whose parents or sponsors desire baptism for them, and it becomes impossible, by reason of sudden death or other accident, it is the hope of most Protestants that God does in such case accept of the *will* for the *deed*, and give them the kingdom of Heaven; because here was the heart and purpose to do what God commanded.

In short, this arrogant rule, as he lays it down, strikes at God's justice, in the case of circumcision as well as Pædobaptism; and with the same assurance as he here tells us, our explication of this text supposes a thing which God cannot do, he may, upon hearing Gen. xvii. 14, say That is what God could not do; for circumcision was as impossible for the child to perform as baptism is; and yet without it he was cut off.

It is worth the while to observe how strongly, and with what sinews, this argument, which determines so positively concerning what God can, or cannot do, is built.

Our Saviour's rule, *Except any one, &c.* cannot concern infants, proved thus:—

P. 421. As it does not concern angels who, *we are sure*, shall, though not baptized, enter, &c.,—so it does not concern infants who, *we may reasonably suppose*, shall, whether baptized or not, all of them enter, &c.

This was as yet lame; because, between *we are sure* and *we may reasonably suppose*, there is some difference; therefore, within three lines it is mended, and instead of *we may reasonably suppose*, it is put *shall assuredly*: that does it. Only there is this difference, The angels are there already; but that unbaptized infants, such as their parents refuse to enter into Christ's Church here, shall enter there, we have no other proof than this man's *shall assuredly*; and his giving a rule to God Almighty's power in the following words:—  
“God, our Saviour, cannot ordain such unreasonable laws.”

He brings at last another argument. In Mark x. 14, Christ, speaking of infants, says, *Of such is the kingdom of Heaven.*

Why did not he quote all the text? — *Suffer them to come to me, for of such, &c.* Lest we should understand it thus, Infants are capable of being members of the kingdom of Heaven; therefore, bring them to me, and do not forbid them for their infancy; whereas he would have us expound it (quite contrary to our Saviour's inference) *Of such is the kingdom of Heaven*; therefore, bring them not to me, — they need it not.

P. 422, comes this last exception against our argument, from the foresaid text of John iii. 5: That our Saviour there requires their being *born of the Spirit*, as well as *of water*; which cannot be meant of infants.

To which I gave answer twice or thrice in the book he is answering; and here above, once to Mr. Bernard, once to Mr. Emlin, and once or twice to Mr. Gale. What I there shew, that the Antipædobaptists confess of the gracious offices of the Holy Spirit, in the case of infants, Danvers says, "Who doubts it? I am sure I never affirmed the contrary;" — and if our author will deny it, let him speak out.

Instead of that, he recites some texts where are mentioned several other operations of the Spirit (which are indeed peculiar to the adult); but says nothing to overthrow what I had said, That the Holy Spirit, beside his office of converting the heart, &c. does also "apply pardon of sin, and other promises of the covenant," of which an infant is capable.

Where he says (p. 425) that I take this for *all* that's meant in the text by *born of the Spirit*, — I answer, That *that* cannot be said to be *all*; because the words being general, of *any one's* being born of the Spirit, and applicable to the baptism both of an adult person and of an infant, there may be several other effects and operations of the Spirit on the heart of an adult, beside those that are common to the adult and infants.

And whereas he quotes Dr. Whitby, who would not

have an infant's case comprehended in this text, — Dr. Whitby, when he animadverts that the church, in the office of baptism, does directly quote and apply these very words of our Saviour to the baptism of every infant, will not deny that they are applicable to it. — Now, at last he returns to what I quoted from Hermas; — and,

P. 424, excepts against any inference for Pædobaptism that can be drawn from that part of the vision, where the patriarchs and other holy men that had died before the Christian baptism was instituted, are represented as baptized by the apostles in the separate state.

I owned that it does not speak directly of infants; and all that I pretended to conclude from it was, the necessity of water baptism to salvation, or to entrance into the kingdom of God, in the opinion of the then Christians, *i. e.* the Christians of the apostles' time. Those are my words.

He says I concluded, "Therefore, the church of that time baptized infants." I did not say that; but left it to the reader to judge how far it would follow, from the necessity of baptism to *all* that do enter, since the patriarchs themselves could not enter without it; therefore, I need say nothing to those three pages, wherein he talks of want of connection, &c. as if I had a syllogism of it, or parables not being argumentative, not running on all four, — and such pedantic stuff.

He says Those patriarchs had been adult, and had *had* actual sins in their former life; and for them might need baptism. He should have minded that Hermas [or the angel] does not make that the reason; but says "They died in great purity, — only this seal was wanting to them." He concludes this head, at

P. 427, with a merry scoff: — "If this proves any thing in favour of infant baptism, it is only that they shall be baptized in the other world; but, be that as it will, it is sufficient that they are not to be baptized here; which is all we insist on."

If the schism can be supported, and hold up its

head till that time, he is indifferent what becomes of the question itself; and if he gain his point here, let who will gain it there; but it is bad venturing this, lest those whose parents refused for them here, be refused there. It was granted to those patriarchs there, because it had not been instituted here during the time of their mortal life.

P. 428. Here he first would willingly deny that, by the word *infants*, in a passage of Hermas there recited, are meant infants in age; which evasion, the mere reading of the place does plainly confute; so not insisting on that, but saying, with his usual modesty, "Perhaps, it may be so," he pleads still, That *that* declaration of God's compassionate love to infants, *All infants are valued by the Lord, &c.* does not signify any thing to their baptism; for that there is no necessary connection between God's love and baptism.

There is, as we have seen, a connection made by our Saviour, between admission into his kingdom and baptism; and we think admission into his kingdom to be an effect of, and connected to his love.

He observes that the words are *all infants*; which he paraphrases, "All upon the same level, merely as infants baptized or not;" — forgetting that Hermas had said before That all who enter must have "that seal; and that seal is water;" and our Saviour before him had spoke to the same purpose.

He says Hermas calls infants *innocent*; — so does the Church of England, in the office of baptism; where yet it owns their being conceived in sin. It means only innocent in comparison, of a meek temper, &c.

He says It is strange that Hermas, in his representations of the several materials of which the church was built, should never give infants one place, but constantly neglect them; and yet this very place that we are upon, is a mention of them in that white mountain, which was the chief of all that afforded any stones to the building.

P. 430. To prove that Hermas had no notion of infant baptism, he quotes an exhortation of his, that is,

as he thinks, inconsistent with it: — "I say unto you all, whoever have received this seal, keep simplicity," &c.

This is your man for connection in an argument. Though such an exhortation be (as Mr. Stokes also observes) but the same that any Pædobaptist preacher does commonly use to his people, yet he, lest the reader should take the inference from it against Pædobaptism to be shamefully weak and trifling) with his usual countenance, tells us, "It is not possible any inference should be more direct and necessary."

I had observed that this saying of Hermas, "All infants are valued by the Lord," is to the same effect as our Saviour's embracing infants, and saying *Of such is the kingdom of God*. Mr. Gale says that I supposed this a *plain* argument for their baptism.

I have not that lucky talent (in which he does so excel) of cramming down the reader's throat inferences from any premises. What I said was, That it is "one of the reasons used to prove that they are fit to be admitted into the covenant of God's grace and love by baptism;" and I do still think it a stronger one than any the Antipædobaptists can bring for the negative; and such as they do not give any solid answer to.

But he says I did not reason from the words (and indeed it was not the province that I had undertaken) but only *cite* them, as if they were plain to the purpose. He, therefore, undertakes the reasoning part; and his reasons are (such as he is used to) "The Pædobaptists do much pervert the place. The words have no relation to baptism at all, nor to any thing necessarily connected with it. What is there, I beseech you, that can make them fasten upon this place?" — and so he goes on ranting and insulting over the Pædobaptists (and Dr. Hammond for one) till he comes to Dr. Whitby, whom he never passes by without a compliment, which here runs thus: "He is pleased to improve the passage to the utmost advantage; and he being in general so very fair and sincere a writer, and comprehending the whole substance of what can be urged

from the place, I will examine what he has said ;” and in that examination he begins gently, and forces himself to civil language ; but before he has done, Nature returns upon him, and he tells the doctor “ his argument is grounded on a mistake, — the doctor gives no reason. This is directly begging the question,” &c.

Now, because since that time the doctor has published his wish to see an answer to this book of *the learned, the very learned* Mr. Gale, I think it concerns him to answer this part himself ; and since he has given up to them the other text of John iii. 5 (which the Church of England does not, and the ancient Christians would not have done) to vindicate at least his own argument from this ; for I, though I think it a very easy thing to shew the weakness of all that is said against it here, had rather, for some reasons, that he should do it himself. It is certainly more to the purpose to write in his own vindication against this *very learned man*, than to write against Dr. Snape, in vindication of another *very learned man*.

P. 433. The exposition of this text given by the late Bishop of Salisbury (which he here likewise attacks) may (because he is dead) be here (for want of a better hand) freed from that little which he objects against it. That bishop had, both in the other text and in this, by the *kingdom of God*, understood the church here, or, as he styles it, *the dispensation of the Messiah*. Mr. Gale, who was eager for this sense of the word in the other place, and said his Lordship had *unanswerably argued* that *that* is the sense in which the kingdom of God does stand *almost universally* through the whole Gospel, is utterly against it here, for a reason of much less weight than was that of St. Austin’s (which I cited) to prove that, not *the church on earth*, but *the kingdom of Glory*, was meant in John iii. 5 ; which Mr. Gale there calls a *frivolous one*. St. Austin on those words (John iii) *shall not see the kingdom of God*, concluded the kingdom there spoken of to be the kingdom of Glory, and not the church here ; because, “ of the church here,” it cannot be denied but a wicked or un-

baptized man might see it. Mr. Gale said that was a frivolous argument; and yet, in Mark x. 15, *Shall not enter into the kingdom*, — he concludes here, it must be the kingdom of glory; for into the church here “the greatest villains may be admitted, if they conceal their wickedness.” If that was frivolous, this is much more so; for in what sense soever a wicked man, or unbaptized person, may *enter* into the church, much more he may *see* it.

He ventures farther, and puts the case, Suppose the *kingdom of God* do mean *the church*, and (as his supposition must be, if it be pertinent) suppose infants were to be admitted into it, — yet “how does it appear they were to be admitted by baptism? Baptism is the only way of admitting adult persons, but is nowhere prescribed to infants;” and then he proposes a method for a new sect, That should admit into their church adult persons *by baptism*, and infants by doing to them as our Lord did to those here mentioned, viz. “by laying on of hands and prayer.” This (he says) he “should rather imagine, if they are to be admitted at all.”

This were certainly better than their present practice of not receiving infants into the church at all; for the *receiving* them some way or other is plainly directed and encouraged by our Saviour upon an occasion like to this, Matt. xviii.

And whereas Christ, at this time, is said to have received these by blessing and laying on of hands, without any mention of the baptizing of them, that is no otherwise expressed than it is often in the case of adult persons who came to him to be healed, and who professed their belief in him, and upon whom he sometimes laid his hands; and yet none of them is said at that time to be baptized by him; though none doubts but that they were baptized by his disciples.

If the Antipædobaptists be once convinced of their duty of “receiving little children in Christ’s name” by any ceremony at all, they will rather receive them by the sacrament which he has appointed for all that en-



ter, than by this of Mr. Gale's proposing. However, this ought seriously to be laid to heart by those who will not at all "receive one such little child in Christ's name."

Supposing that the bishop's interpretation of the *kingdom of Heaven* signifying *the church here*, does not hold, but that it signifies *the kingdom of Glory*, yet his main argument from these words, for the baptizing such infants does continue firm, since, by the other text, all that are to be members of that must be baptized.

He brings also against the bishop that argument, That if they be received to baptism, they must also to the Lord's Supper; which having been answered over and over, is now grown thread-bare.

He and his *Sir* having had this imaginary triumph over, not me only, but the said doctor and bishop, do as two cocks here, as at all other conclusions, clap their wings and crow.

## CHAPTER XI.

MR. GALE, because next to Hermas I pass to Justin Martyr, and so do "pass over (as he calls it) half the second century without any attempt upon it," begs that all the space left out by me may be given him; and because the Antipædobaptists can bring no evidence at all from these times, if we leave out any author, as having nothing *pro* or *contra* about the age of baptizing, they claim them as being our leavings; whereas the truth of the matter is, that (if we except Ignatius, who, as he was going to martyrdom, wrote some short letters of his last advice to the neighbouring churches; and Polycarp, who wrote one such short letter) there is never a book of the fifty years he mentions left; of which, if Mr. Gale were aware, you may see, he will

make a flourish to his ignorant readers of a thing which he knows has nothing in it.

My chapter of quotations out of Justin has not, as I owned in the Preface, any *express* mention of infant baptism; but of original sin, as it affects infants,—of baptism succeeding circumcision, &c.

He says, The proof of their holding the doctrine of original sin (and that, beside actual sins, there is in our nature, since the Fall, something that needs redemption and forgiveness by the merits of Christ) concerns not the baptizing of infants; for though we do say that *that* redemption and forgiveness is ordinarily to be applied to every one by baptism, that signifies nothing, unless Justin say so; nor is it sufficient to say the Scripture teaches it; for the question here immediately is not what the Scriptures teach,—but what Justin teaches.

Now, this is very subtle arguing; but (as most of your subtle notions) being a little weighed, proves very light. There wants nothing to see through it, but to remember that Justin knew the Scriptures. If they do teach that original pollution does, in order to its forgiveness, require baptism, and he knew and believed them, our proving that he held pollution in infants, proves by consequence that he must hold their need of baptism.

To stop this dispute about original sin, he refers to what he had said at his 403d page, where the most that I can make of it is, that he believes no such thing; and here he questions whether Justin and the antients had any notion of it.

P. 440. He falls foul on my translation of a sentence which I quoted, to shew that father's sense of it (*Dial. p. 94, Ed. Steph.*); where it is said that Christ condescended to be "born, and baptized, and crucified," not being under any necessity or want upon his own account, of any of those things; but he did them (*ὑπὲρ τῆς γένουσι τῶν Ἀνθρώπων, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον, καὶ πλάνην τῆς Ὁφείας ἐπεπύκει, παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν πονηροῦμένου*); — which I had translated 'For

'mankind, which by Adam was fallen under death, and under the guile of the serpent, beside the particular cause which each man had of sinning.' He says It ought, he thinks, to be translated thus: — 'For mankind, which from [not by] Adam, was fallen under death, and the guile of the serpent, by their own act and deed, every one having done wickedly.'

This were tolerable, even though the mistake be his own, if he did not add to it some of his natural impudence and abusive language. "My translation (he says) is such as no school-boy would have made. Whether I did it out of ignorance or inadvertency he will not determine."

The only difference is about *ἀπό* and *παρά*, — how they are in this place to be rendered. Every one knows that an author, speaking of mankind, "fallen under death and the guile of the serpent" (*ἀπο τοῦ Ἀδάμ*) may be understood either thus: — *From* [or *by*] Adam, as the cause or origin of that fall and death, — as I translate it; or thus, *From the time of* Adam, — as Mr. Gale translates. They know likewise that *παρά*, with an accusative, does signify generally *præter*, 'beside;'; and sometimes (but very seldom) *propter*, 'by reason of;'; and that it is the sense and scope of the place that must determine how these prepositions must be rendered here.

Now, all that I have seen that have had occasion to take notice of this saying of Justin, and, I believe, absolutely all that did ever translate or interpret it, have understood and rendered it as I did.

Perionius, whose Latin translation of Justin is in the *B. P. Coll.* 1618, renders *ἀπο τοῦ Ἀδάμ*, *Adami opera*, 'by the means [or fault] of Adam;'; and *παρά τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἑκάστου*, *præter privatam ac propriam uniuscujusque culpam*, 'beside every one's particular and peculiar fault [or sin].'. In the Paris edition, 1636, the translation given by Langus is, "Sed humani generis causa, quod per Adam in mortem et fraudem seductionemque serpentis, conciderat; ut interim propriam pro se maligne agentis cujusque culpam taceam."

Dr. Hammond having occasion, in his *Annotations on Psalm li*, to quote the former part of this sentence, translates ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, 'by Adam's fall;' and that shews also how he must, by the tenor of the sentence, have translated the other part too, if he had recited it.

Of learned men that have collected the testimonies of the antients owning and bewailing our original corruption, none, I think, have omitted this of Justin. However, Vossius, in his *Hist. Pelag.* has not; nor the learned Spencer (*Annot. in Originem*, p. 54); whose putting this among the other passages of the fathers which speak of original sin, shews how he would have translated it; for, according to Mr. Gale's translation, it speaks nothing about it. He curtails the sense of it, that it should not.

The Reverend and learned Mr. Bingham, in that elaborate work of his, *Origines Eccl.* vol. 4, chap. 4, § 7, translates it, "By reason of Adam's sin, beside the particular guilt which each man," &c.

The reader sees what men I have named; and will judge what a forehead that man must have that will not allow them to understand the sense of a passage in a Greek father as well as himself or the school-boys.

He would give a colour to his own translation, from the connection which this sentence has with the words next following; which are, "For God did this, willing that these (men as well as angels) should act with a free choice and a free power to do what he enabled every one to do: that if they did choose what was pleasing to him, he might preserve them immortal; but if," &c. Now, Mr. Gale says "For Justin to say this, and connect it by the illative particle *for* to another sentence, wherein he says All fell in Adam, is so great an absurdity," &c.

But he perverts the words; and there wants nothing but reading them, to see that Justin does not argue that "all fell in Adam, and so men had a free choice;" but thus: — God did this [*i. e.* caused his Son "to be born, to be baptized, and to be crucified;" which are the very words of the disputed sentence] for men, that

they might once more have a free choice. Mr. Gale, in his English, gives no rendering, but only a — for ἐποίησεν, 'did it;' which would have made the sense not so easy to be perverted. He that will warp one sentence, must commonly bend the next.

He spends the next pages in telling us stories of ἀπὸ and παρὰ. Ἀπὸ often signifies *from*; as *from* such a place, or *from* such a time (Who doubts it?); and St. Paul says *Death reigned* (ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ μέχρι Μωσέως) *from Adam to Moses*; and if the construction of the sentence had been alike here, it must, I grant, have been so translated here; but he will not deny that it often signifies *from*, i. e. *from*, or *by*, such a *cause*, such an *occasion*, such a *man's fault*; as the learned men I mentioned, and I believe all translators of St. Justin have here rendered it.

For παρὰ he is more put to it; yet the Lexicon does furnish him with a few examples; and then he goes to the books; — Dionysius, Thucydides, tells us long stories of two or three fights, where παρὰ is so used. The property of one that loves to hear himself talk.

Had it not been more natural if he had sought the true import of it here, to see how Justin himself uses it? — of which this dialogue would have given him forty or fifty examples, where it always signifies *beside*. There are four or five in the space of a page, p. 69, *ed. Prædict*: — Another God (παρὰ τῶτον) *beside him* that was seen by Abraham; — Christ does nothing (παρὰ γνώμην τῆς Ποιητῆς) *beside* [or without] the will of the Creator; — again (παρὰ τῶτον) *beside* this; — and again (παρὰ τὸν νοούμενον Ποιητὴν) *beside* him that is understood to be the Maker of all things, &c.; so p. 78, another covenant (παρὰ τὴν ἐν ὄρει Χωρὴβ) *beside* that made at the mount Horeb.

If Mr. Gale had amended my translation of the word αἰτίαν, there had been more room for his criticism; but that would not have advantaged his plea. I expressed it, "Beside the particular cause which each man had of sinning." It is better rendered "Beside the

peculiar guilt [or crime] of every one of them that had sinned ;" but this makes Justin not less plainly speak of original sin derived from Adam, beside every man's particular and actual offences. *Acta* sometimes is the *cause* or *reason* of any thing ; sometimes a *crime* or *guilt* ; but never what Mr. Gale renders it, *an act and deed*.

P. 444. In answering the next passage, where Justin, speaking of the Jewish circumcision, and comparing with it the spiritual circumcision, says of the latter " And this, we being sinners have, through God's mercy, received by baptism ; and every one is permitted to receive it in the same way." He first manfully proves that circumcision and baptism are two things ; and that Justin's saying We receive circumcision *by* baptism, is not saying that circumcision itself *is* baptism.

What readers and what answerers must this man have ! Did ever any one pretend that the *formalis ratio* of them is the same ? — or any more than that one is to the Christians the initiating ceremony instead of the other, which was so to the Jews ? This disputant would confute any of the Christian fathers that should say that *Christ crucified* is to us the *Passover Lamb* ; because one was a lamb, and the other is a man.

He observes that Justin, in the same place, says that Enoch, and the other holy patriarchs, had the spiritual circumcision ; and yet, says he, " Where, when, or By whom was Enoch baptized ?"

The sense is plain to every reader, that Enoch received it without any external ceremony ; Abraham and the Jews by external circumcision ; and the Christians (as his express words are) by baptism.

Then, through three pages, he cites sentences out of Justin and other fathers (and he might have brought an hundred more) where they speak of the circumcision of the heart, the putting away the evil of our doings, the purification from all error and wickedness, &c. as being the true circumcision chiefly intended by God, — the *spiritual circumcision*, *our circumcision*, &c. ; and he would argue from thence, that they cannot account bap-

tism to be instead of circumcision, because purification of heart and life is instead of it.

But both of these may well consist. Purity of heart and life is the chief import and aim both of circumcision in the Old Testament, and of baptism in the New: that does not at all hinder, but that as circumcision was the external sacrament to import this purity in the Old, so baptism may be instead of it for the same purpose in the New.

And though the fathers may, in many of their sayings, express only the comparison between the carnal circumcision and the spiritual, without mentioning at those places baptism as the sacrament of it, yet it is sufficient that they, at several other places, do expressly mention it, as Justin does here; for he has been here shewing that almost all the ordinances of the Old Testament were types of something under the New; as the pas-sover-lamb roasted, of Christ crucified; the scape-goat, of Christ bearing our sins and made a curse for us; the fine flour used at the cleansing of a leper, of the bread in the Eucharist; the twelve bells on the high priest's garment, of the twelve apostles and several more. After which follows this, How the Jewish circumcision was a type of the true circumcision, which we receive, says he, by baptism.

Mr. Gale lays a particular stress on one of the places which he brings, which is a saying of Lactantius, That there was to be "another circumcision, not of the flesh as was the first, which the Jews still practise; but of the heart and spirit." Upon which he turns to his Sir, "You see, Sir, he expressly says, the second circumcision is not of the flesh; but baptism is the plunging the flesh into water, and is, therefore, of the flesh."

His Sir might have had the sense to have told him, that as St. Paul saying that the *true circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter*, does not mean to deny the being of the outward circumcision in the letter or flesh, but only that the other was the chief; so Lactantius saying what he does there, does not mean to deny the being of the outward washing of

the flesh ; but only that the other was much more to be regarded.

P. 448. Where I had said that this saying of Justin is to the same sense as that of St. Paul (Col. ii. 11, 12) where he calls baptism (with the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, which attends it) *the Circumcision of Christ*, or (as it might more agreeably have been rendered) *the Christian Circumcision*, he answers, first,

The Scriptures nowhere call baptism *Circumcision*.

A pretty way of arguing. As if that were not Scripture which I cited. He proceeds, " Now, if baptism is never called *Circumcision* in Scripture, &c. how natural and necessary does it appear to understand the circumcision (Col. ii) to mean, not baptism, but purity of heart !"

This is not against me, but against St. Paul, who, notwithstanding that it is nowhere so called in Scripture, ventures to tell those Christians that they " were circumcised with the circumcision of Christ, being buried with him in baptism."

Secondly, He answers that St. Paul cannot mean baptism there ; because he calls the circumcision he there speaks of, *the circumcision made without hands*. Now baptism is not *made without hands*.

This might have been used for an argument (though a weak one) that St. Paul did not mean baptism, if his words had not *expressed* baptism ; but as his words stand, it has no other inference than that St. Paul spoke improperly.

But the propriety of his words may be well defended. Partly because he here joins together the outward and the inward part of baptism, and speaks of them as considered together ; and partly because χειρουργικός may very well be taken (as, χειρουργός, a word of the same grammatical import commonly is) not for every work or thing in which mens' hands are at all used, but for a thing done by surgical operation, as circumcision was.

He says if the circumcision here, called the *Christian*



*Circumcision*, do consist both of the internal and external part of baptism, it cannot be called *Circumcision without hands*; because one part of that is performed with hands; but St. Paul's direct assertion is, that *that* which he speaks of is done without hands, and consequently cannot be baptism.

But could he not see that St. Paul does as directly assert that it is by *being buried with Christ in baptism*, as he does the other? What avails arguing that the words should not be so, when they plainly are so? If one of these two consequences must be allowed, either that St. Paul contradicts himself, or else that this is a cavilling argument, I doubt our author and his *Sir* will come by the worse.

P. 451. Whereas I had said that the antients, in conformity to this phrase of St. Paul, were wont to call baptism (*περίτροπὴν ἀχειροποίητον*) *the Circumcision done without hands*, he says, If my meaning be, that they called the outward part of baptism *Circumcision without hands*, he has a more honourable opinion of them than to suppose they could be so grossly absurd. I gave, at this very place, references to the following chapters of my book, in which chapters I set down at large their own words where they do call it so. He has the forehead to say, "The passages of the antients our author refers to, I have consulted particularly; and I am sure they say no such thing."

I am not much afraid that any that know me and him will count me to be indeed a liar upon his giving me the lie; but I will set down here again so much of them as is necessary for the reader to see whether he be one or not.

In my twelfth chapter (part 1) here referred to, I recited the chief passages of St. Basil's sermon *against the delaying of baptism*. He that reads either the sermon itself, or the sentences which I recited out of it, will see that it speaks of the outward part; *i. e.* the baptism itself of their bodies. I do not say that he excludes the inward graces that God would work in their

souls, but uses the word as comprehending both; and to those who put off their baptism from day to day he addresses himself thus : —

“ A Jew does not delay circumcision because of the threatening that *every soul that is not circumcised on the eighth day shall be cut off from his people* ; and doest thou delay the circumcision made without hands (*ἀχειροποίητον περιτομήν*) in the putting off the flesh, which is performed in baptism, when thou hearest the Lord himself say, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, except one be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of God?* ”

In the fourteenth chapter (there referred to likewise) I shewed how St. Austin quoting this passage in his disputes with Julian (lib. 2, *contr. Jul.* c. 9) but mistaking it to be a sermon of St. Chrysostom's, after reciting the foresaid words, speaks himself thus : “ You see how this man established in the ecclesiastical doctrine, compares circumcision to baptism, and threat to threat : that which it is not to be circumcised on the eighth day, that it is not to be baptized in Christ ; and what it is to be cut off from his people, that it is not to enter into the kingdom of Heaven ; and yet you [Pelagians] say that in the baptism of infants there is no putting off the flesh, *i. e.* no circumcision made without hands, when you affirm,” &c.

I quoted also, in the same chapter, St. Chrysostom himself, in his *Hom. Fortieth in Genesis*, taking notice of the pain and trouble that was in circumcision ; and how favourable God is to Christians in the baptism that he has appointed them in lieu thereof, in these words ; — *Ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα περιτομή*, &c. “ But our circumcision, I mean, the grace of baptism, gives cure without pain, &c. ; and it has no determinate time as that had, but one that is in the very beginning of his age, or one that is in the middle of it, or one that is in his old age, may receive (*τάντην τὴν ἀχειροποίητον περιτομήν*) *this circumcision made without hands.* ”

This is meant plainly of baptism itself, and not merely of the internal effects.

These places Mr. Gale says he had particularly consulted; and, not daring to recite them, he assures the reader (who will never hereafter give him credit) "that they say no such thing."

More of the fathers, speaking of baptism, being to us instead of circumcision, I referred to part 2, chap. x; as Origen, Cyprian, Greg. Naz. *Quæst. ad Orthodoxos*, St. Ambrose, &c.

At last he says, that if the fathers and St. Paul too do speak of baptism as I pretend, yet this does not affect infant baptism; and then runs on vapouring about the want of consequence from infant circumcision to infant baptism.

But then why did he not say this at first? A man that has true grounds to defend any proposition, is a mad sort of disputant, if he strive a long time to defend it by such as are manifestly and notoriously false; for whatever becomes of the consequence, it is notorious that St. Paul and the ancient Christians do speak of baptism as being instead of circumcision; and a man does but disgrace his cause by denying it.

The rules by which he would overthrow the consequence are, if one mind the logic of them, extremely ridiculous. We argue, that the Scripture, ordering *circumcision* to be given to infants as a covenanting and initiating seal, and ordering afterward *baptism* to be the covenanting and initiating seal instead of it, does by consequence order baptism to be given to *infants*. He says This consequence does not hold, because *it is not ordered* to be given to infants; which every one sees to be the woman's reason, the denying the conclusion; — therefore,

P. 452, That he may give something like a man's reason, he maintains that the principle upon which the argument proceeds (*viz.* that what was done in respect to circumcision, must be done now in respect to baptism) does not hold in two other particulars. One of the *time*, the eighth day; the other of the *male sex*, to

which circumcision was limited; and so need not be supposed to hold in this.

To the first of these, I had shewed him (chap. 6) what a large and full answer was given by St. Cyprian and the Council in their epistle to Fidus, who had made a like objection concerning the eighth day, as he does here, — not to oppose infant baptism, but to tie it to the eighth day. They shew that ignorant disputer that the circumstance of the day was typical; and had not, by the nature of the thing, the same reason in the *spiritual circumcision* (so they call baptism) as it had in the carnal circumcision. Now, this does not prove but that the principle may hold in all points that are material, substantial, and of moment.

The second, concerning the sex, is we allow, a difference of moment, as it determines the admitting or rejecting all females from the seal of the Christian covenant, — in like manner as this present dispute determines the admitting or rejecting all males and females too under such an age; but he should have considered that we hold the forementioned principle [what was done in respect to circumcision, must be done in respect to baptism] with this exception: — “Unless where Christ has ordered an alteration;” as he has in this point expressly; for St. Paul, speaking of the Christian baptism (Gal. iii. 27, 28) tells us, that whereas there had been a difference made between Jews and Gentiles, and between males and females, there should be no difference made in either of these cases as to baptism into Christ: — *So many of you as have been baptized into Christ, &c. ; — there is neither Jew nor Greek, &c. ; — there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.* Now such an express exception in these particular cases strengthens the law [or principle] in all cases not excepted. Mr. Gale should, if he could, shew us an exception as clear as this concerning *infant* and *adult*, — That though infants were admitted to the one seal, they should not be admitted to the other.

Though all this be plain and obvious, and such as not only any clergyman, but almost any ordinary layman,

could have told him, yet he, with his usual insolence, insults all the clergy upon it; and says,

P. 454, "If they were to consider the matter more deliberately, they would be ashamed of all they have urged upon this head."

True genuine arrogance! He thinks himself capable of making all the clergy ashamed of their arguments. It brings to one's mind the character which Mr. Stokes (p. 51) gives of the Antipædobaptists (which I would not apply to all; but some, I see, can come up to it); he having there concluded that infant baptism must have been at the time he speaks of, universally received, not only by some particular churches or men, as they pretend, but by all Christians from hence; that there do not appear to have been any debates or disputes against it, adds,

"There were certainly no Antipædobaptists in those days, or else their temper was quite different from ours. Ours are, many of them, so positive in this controversy; as to unchurch all that differ from them; and of such martial souls, as that a diminutive fellow of scarce common sense shall challenge men of the brightest parts;" — and a little after, "Was there not a Danvers, — nor a Gale?"

P. 454. Where I had brought a passage of St. Justin's Apology (owning at the same time that it does not make directly or immediately for or against infant baptism) he will have it to make against it; and that for these miserable reasons: —

First, If the Christians then had baptized infants, he would have mentioned it, in order to remove out of the Emperor's mind all suspicion of their murdering infants and eating them. To which far-fetched imagination of his, vented before in his first chapter, and brought here again, I answered there more than such a groundless guess could deserve.

Secondly, He would have this passage to make against infant baptism, because Justin there describes only such circumstances as are proper to adult persons, as making

their voluntary choice and professions, &c.; — and does not mention their bringing their children to baptism.

This is no wonder, since he did not go about to instruct the Emperor and Senate in all the principles and tenets of the Christian religion, but only to shew that their sacraments had no harm in them, but were innocent and pious. What he here talks of my making, and the Church of England making two baptisms, one for the adult, another for infants, is nothing but a sample of the insolent liberty he takes to say any thing, true or false, of any man or any church. They use some prayers and exhortations differing in the different cases, and that he calls two sorts of baptism.

And what he observes of Justin's saying that our first generation is without our knowledge or choice, but that a heathen man (for of such he there speaks) comes to this baptism (which is his regeneration or second birth) of his own will and choice, is no more than he would have said of any proselytes voluntarily entering into God's covenant by circumcision (which the Jews, as I shewed, did also call his regeneration); the adult proselyte did partake of this regeneration by his own choice. This is no proof but that his infant children had the same circumcision and regeneration, by their parents dedicating them, and God's gracious acceptance.

P. 457. I had said that this passage of Justin is the most ancient account of the way of baptizing, next the Scripture. Mr. Gale adds, "And that was by dipping;" which I do not deny to have been generally and ordinarily so. And whereas he adds farther, "Justin here mentions only adult persons." I grant that too. But his next words, "He elsewhere plainly excludes infants from being then baptized in the Church," are an open falsehood. And the next, "He says that adult persons only can or ought to be baptized," are a downright forgery, and just like those of Danvers which I mention in a like case, part 2, chap. i. Let him for

shame find where Justin says so, or else take to himself the name of *a forger of sayings for the fathers*.

P. 458. I had observed that Justin in that passage uses the word *regeneration*, or being born anew, for baptism; and so he does plainly. "We bring them [the new converts] to the water, and they are regenerated by the same way of regeneration by which we were regenerated; for they are washed with water in the name, &c.; for Christ says, *Except you be regenerated, you cannot enter*," &c.

Mr. Gale objects that though he talk of their being regenerated, and join it pretty closely with their being baptized, yet he does not say baptism is regeneration; and then he brings two places more of the same dialogue: one where Justin says "We are regenerated by him by water, faith, and the tree;" another, "Him that is washed with the laver which is for remission of sins and regeneration;" and thinks that these and the like expressions make against my assertion; whereas they are so many confirmations of it. He says "Justin only thought that we some how or other obtained or sealed, &c. our regeneration by baptism as a mean or sign, &c. just as we also obtain remission of sins thereby, but not that baptism is remission of sins or regeneration."

Thus he would escape, as if our argument depended upon a formal or logical identity of the things. When I say that by *regenerated* they always mean *baptized*, I mean no more, nor does the argument need any more, than that regeneration does, in their sense of the word, always imply or denote baptism; so that if any author of these times do speak of any person, infant or adult, regenerated, we are to suppose him baptized; I expressed it so at several places, as chap. xi. They so appropriated that word to baptism as to exclude any other conversion or repentance that is not accompanied with baptism from being signified by it, of which I give there several plain proofs. The authors which I cite there, and through all the book, do not stand upon the metaphysical quiddity or *formalis ratio* of the things.

but do sometimes call it the *regeneration of baptism*, sometimes the *regeneration by baptism*, sometimes the *baptism of regeneration* (which is St. Paul's phrase, Tit. iii. 5) or, *baptism for regeneration*. They generally understand by it a complex notion of the outward act of baptism, accompanied with that grace or mercy of God, whereby he receives the person into a new covenant, or new spiritual state (so grossly quibbling is Mr. Gale's evasion here, "He must, doubtless, mean some farther regeneration than *bare washing*;" as if I had ever argued that the *bare washing*, which is only the outward part, were the whole, either of baptism or regeneration). Regeneration, in the sense of the fathers, is (if we must formally define it) the change of the spiritual state of any person granted by God in baptism; and what is fairly concluded from their general use of the word is this, That they give that term of *regenerated* to none but baptized persons.

Of this observation, he says, I mean to make some use afterward; and why should I not, since it is an undeniable one? And the same may be observed to a good and fair purpose of the term *ἅγιος*, *a saint*, or *holy*, and several others which are never given but to baptized persons, and are in Scripture or the fathers given to some infants.

P. 460. When I observed that Justin does here understand that rule of our Saviour (John iii. 5) *Except any one be born again, &c. of water-baptism*, and that all the writers of those first 400 years, not one man excepted, did understand it so, he finds out my design, viz. to have it believed that Justin thought that *that* rule includes infants; which, he says, is absurd, when I had owned before that Justin is speaking there of adult persons.

But there is no absurdity in it, for Justin, though speaking there of adult persons, may give a rule out of Scripture for the necessity of their baptism; which rule may reach to the case of all persons, adult or infant, that shall enter the kingdom.

P. 461. In another passage of Justin's apology con-



cerning some Christians of his time, sixty or seventy years old, who, he says, ἐκ παιδῶν ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, were (as I translated it) *discipled* [or, *made disciples*] to Christ in their childhood, he would have ἐμαθητεύθησαν be translated "*Trained up* (so then ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ must be *trained up to Christ*) or *instructed*" (and then it is *instructed to Christ*); and ἐκ παιδῶν to be not *in their childhood*, but *from their childhood*; and on the latter difference makes a great outcry, and spends two pages.

For μαθητεύομαι, to be *made a disciple*, enough has been said; and since the word joined with it is τῷ Χριστῷ, it is more proper to say *discipled to Christ* than *instructed to him*.

And whether this be said to be done *in childhood*, or *from childhood*, is no material difference, save that of a continued act which must last some years (such as is instruction, learning, or training up) it is more usually said to be done *from childhood*; but an act done at once is more properly said to be done *in childhood*. Now these are said to have been μαθηταί, or to have been made μαθηταί, to Christ (which term is, I think, never given but to baptized persons) in or from their childhood. Mr. Gale brings a great many instances where a course of learning, teaching, studying, &c. is said to have been from childhood; but there is not among them, nor I believe anywhere else, an instance of any one that has been said to be μαθητὴς or μαθητεύεσθαι to Christ, in, or from childhood, except he were baptized then; and this sense of Justin's word, speaking of children discipled to Christ in the midst of the apostles' time (for so far the seventy years do reach back) is much confirmed by Irenæus (who lived nigh the same time with Justin) using the word *regenerated unto God by Christ* (a word that constantly implies baptism) in the case of infants; against which testimony of Irenæus Mr. Gale next brings his exceptions.

P. 464. Because I said that this testimony of Irenæus, reckoning infants (as well as little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons) among those who

by Christ are regenerated unto God, was the first express mention that I had met with in the fathers of infants baptized, Mr. Gale (as he did once before) in a precarious manner craves all the time before to be yielded to him; because none of the passages before are in express words for *infants baptized*, but only such as from which their baptism is concluded by consequence.

But proofs by consequence for any affirmative, do give that the advantage against a negative of which there are no proofs at all; and a thing which now is, and beyond the memory of any history, has been the practice of the Church of Christ, if it be clearly traced up to Irenæus, and by obscurer footsteps farther in the scarcity of books that are left, is (if there be no better proofs of the contrary) rightly concluded, as St. Austin argues in this very matter, to have been from the beginning.

Irenæus wrote this about the year 180, that is, eighty years after the apostles' time; and so Mr. Gale would conclude that the baptism of infants does not appear to have been practised till about the latter end of the second century. But what then will become of Antipædobaptism, which does not appear to have been practised till after the middle of the eleventh century, and that by a people few, ignorant, and quickly converted?

Besides, though Irenæus wrote this at 180, yet sixty years before that he had been a hearer of Polycarp, who had been an acquaintance of St. John; and what he says of infants being regenerated or baptized, he does not speak of as any new or controverted thing, but as a known and uncontroverted practice; so that his evidence who was born in, or very nigh the apostles' time, must be allowed very early. Whether he was born of Christian parents, and baptized in infancy, we know not; but he was a Christian at 120, and remembered from that time.

Therefore, because this passage (however he seems to slight it) sticks in his teeth, he labours to overthrow the force of it for forty pages together.

He makes four several attacks against it; but those of

a nature so contrary to each other, that if he thought any one of them to be valid he would have forborne the other three.

The first is, to deny that part of the chapter to be genuine, which is always accounted a miserable subterfuge in a book so well known, so constantly read and owned for above 1500 years; and to disown one particular chapter, allowing the rest, nay, one part or sentence of a chapter (where his error is confuted) owning the rest, makes the *postulatum* still more beggarly. He first says *It is questioned*; next, *It seems to be*; then it is *undeniably* spurious; and all this for no other reason but because it appears that Irenæus was in that chapter (but not nigh the place where he speaks of infants regenerated) mistaken in a point of chronology; by which reason he might condemn the books, not only of all the ancient Christian writers, but of all writers whatsoever of those times.

They having in those times no common era to reckon by (as we have now the year of our Lord); but some reckoned only by the Consulships of the city of Rome (as if we had no other way of dating than by the Mayoralties of the city of London) and some by the years of their kings, or of the Emperors of Rome, whose years were always in divers countries diversly computed, according as their conquests extended to each country; they, I say, having no better method than these, did never write the history of any thing much before their own time with any accuracy of chronology.

This all chronologers know to be the case; and even Mr. Gale (though he seems to be but little versed in that study) must know so much of it as to be sensible that all men of learning would slight this his exception; but what cares he for that, so it pass with his people!

He says Cardinal Baronius has observed this, *Annal. Eccl. ann. 34.*

He and many other chronologers have given their opinion against the determination of Irenæus in this chapter, and elsewhere in his book, that our Saviour lived to above forty years of age; but he, it seems, not mind-

ing that this is said by Irenæus at other places as well as here, did cast in some doubtful words whether this thirty-ninth chapter were not interpolated at that place, but not any concerning the place which we are upon that speaks of all ages regenerated.

Mr. Gale says the Cardinal's reasons have, he thinks, never yet been answered.

No body is able to help his thinking; but the reasons, as they were at first absurd, have been answered, not only by Casaubon, Dodwell, Petavius (whom Mr. Gale himself mentions as answering) but by Feuardenius, who in his second edition of Irenæus shews irrefragably that one cannot judge this chapter to be spurious from Irenæus's wrong computation of the years of Christ's life that is made in it, because the same mistaken computation is in the fortieth chapter, where he not only says the same as he does here, but also brings a text of Scripture (John viii. 57) *Thou art not yet fifty years old*, to strengthen his opinion.

This Mr. Gale should have seen, and spared himself, and his reader, and me the trouble of a cavil of ten pages against the authenticity of this passage about baptism, only because there is in the same chapter a computation (which is, perhaps, a mistaken one) about the length of Christ's age. He shews Irenæus's mistake in chronology (which is nothing to our purpose) and his own skill in it at such a rate, that if a book were to be accounted spurious for having mistakes and contradictions in that art, his, as well as Baronius's, must be counted so. There are many great difficulties in that study, and not more in any part of it than in that which is employed in enumerating the years of our Saviour's life.

Baronius could solve them no better than by making Herod live nine or ten years longer than he did, which is a more palpable mistake than any of Irenæus; and in which Spondanus would willingly have forsaken him; but he excuses himself that he was an epitomizer of Baronius, not a critic upon him. Dr. Allix calls it Baro-

nus's Dream; and Mr. Gale has dreamed more absurdly, as we shall see.

But first he recites here, as against himself, what Casaubon, and Mr. Dodwell, and Petavius have said in excuse for Irenæus.

What the two first pleaded does not so pertinently come in here; but the answer that Petavius gives is certainly and plainly the true one. Irenæus was engaged against the Valentinians. These heretics made some advantage for their wicked and blasphemous tenets of the notion (which though a mistaken one was then common) that Christ preached but one year after his baptism: Irenæus overthrows not only the wild opinions which they built upon this notion, but the notion itself; and tells them that they who pretended to have found out the deep things of God, had not the sense to observe in the plain text of the Gospel how many passovers our Lord after his baptism is mentioned to have kept at Jerusalem; and he instances in three: one mentioned John ii. 13, 25; another John v. 1; and the third that at which he was crucified; and adds, that the Valentinians, making him to have lived but one year after his baptism, do take away that which was the most necessary and honourable part of his life, viz. that in which he had the age of a master or teacher (*magistri, διδασκάλος*, I suppose) and was *senior*, an *elderly man*: for that at his baptism he was not full thirty, but, as St. Luke expresses it, *beginning to be about thirty*. Now the age of thirty, says he, is the age of youth, and it reaches to forty; then at forty or fifty a man comes in *ætatem seniore*, to his elderly age; and that age our Lord had when he was a teacher. *Quam ætatem habens Dominus noster docebat.*

Petavius owns this account to be a mistaken one, yet shews that here is nothing wherein Irenæus can be said to contradict himself; he observes that he owns our Saviour at his baptism to have been but thirty, or not so much; nay, that he urges it; and, that he quotes the mention of three passovers after that, which was enough

to confute the opinion of his living but one year after; but that he supposes at the same time, that between Christ's baptism and his beginning to preach, there passed so many years as did make up the years after his baptism to amount to above ten, and perhaps twenty; i. e. that after he was baptized, he staid several years, before he entered on his office of preaching; so that he lived in all above forty, and perhaps nigh fifty.

This Petavius takes to have been Irenæus's hypothesis concerning the years of Christ's life. Mr. Gale says, He does not attempt to prove this; and does not, or will not, see that Irenæus's own words do plainly prove it. *Triginta quidem annorum existens, cum veniret ad baptismum; deinde magistri ætatem perfectam habens venit Hierusalem, &c.* "He was but thirty years old when he came to baptism; then afterward, when he had the complete age of a master or teacher (which he in the same chapter defines to be forty) he came to Jerusalem."

So that it is plain Irenæus thought there passed ten years (the difference between thirty and forty) between his baptism and his first going up to Jerusalem; now that first going to Jerusalem was at, or presently after, the beginning of his preaching, as appears John ii. 13.

Though this be very plain, and though it be justly accounted a base thing for any writer in a dispute against an author of credit not to grant so much as that author makes out plainly and convincingly, but to brawl and contradict eternally right or wrong; yet Mr. Gale, not regarding who Petavius was, and how much the learned world owes him in point of chronology, not only slights his account of the sense of this place, which is a very just one, but throws at him (as he does every where round about upon any that he thinks it his interest to vilify) some of that dirt and contempt which is so natural to him. "It amounts to nothing; it is too wild and fanciful a conjecture, founded purely upon Petavius's imagination; very pleasant indeed; it is only begging the question," &c.

When a disputant has nothing of sense or truth to

oppose to an argument, this faculty of contemptuous facing and brawling it out, is of considerable use before an ignorant mob, but nowhere else.

If the plea be that Irenæus was wrong in this computation, and that the time of Pontius Pilate's continuance in his office of governor having been but ten years (or a little above) in all (as the Roman histories and Josephus do shew) and John's baptism having begun in Pilate's time (Luke iii. 1) our Saviour's death, which was also in Pilate's time, could not be much above ten years after his baptism; this must be confessed; nor does Petavius deny it. But Irenæus might be ignorant of these chronological characters, how long Pilate held the office (for there is no plain footsteps of them in the gospels) or might not remember them, or not animadvert to them; and so this chapter may be genuine, as it appears plainly to be by the style and method, and its coherence with the next chapter, and by these two chapters being the only ones that treat on one of the heads proposed in the first chapter of the first book to be treated on.

What Irenæus adds, That ancient men who had been in company with St. John in Asia, did testify that he did use to speak of our Saviour as of one that had arrived before his death (*ad ætatem seniore*) to an elderly age; and that some other of the apostles, whom some of the said ancient men had seen, did speak to the same purpose, is without ground made another proof of the spuriousness of the book.

It is not said that St. John or the other apostles named any number of years, only used the general word *ætat senior*; and that *that* must imply forty or more years is only Irenæus's notion of the word. The several stages of man's life, childhood, youth, mature age, &c. have, in different countries, different measures by the use of the place assigned to them.

Beside that, in the truth of the matter Irenæus was not so much mistaken as many have thought: by making our Saviour live to forty, he is, if mistaken at all, yet nearer the truth than Mr. Gale, who talks of thirty

or thirty-one; so that his severe imputation on Irenæus, "If he was guilty of so palpable a contradiction, he is not to be trusted in any case," redounds on himself; and put the case, that Irenæus had fallen into a contradiction of himself in this computation of years long past, would it follow from thence that he could not give an account of things of his own time, that infants did use to be regenerated or baptized?

Mr. Gale thinks that at that time they could not be ignorant of the circumstances of time relating to Christ's birth: that is so far from being true, that at that time they did not know those circumstances that were more obvious than the years of his age. They knew not then; nor do we know yet, whose daughter the Blessed Virgin, his mother, was; nor whether those that are called his Brothers and Sisters were only his kinsmen or kinswomen, or were the children of his reputed father, or even (as some now venture to say) of his mother. The number of years that he spent in preaching was a thing much more obvious and likely to be known than those of his age; and yet many before Irenæus thought it continued but one year; and some afterward, even learned men, continued in that vulgar error: Tertullian, Africanus, Clem. Alex., &c. such poor chronologers they were, and so incurious were they (provided they remembered the miracles and practised the precepts) concerning the time or year in which they were done or delivered.

P. 468. Our author will no longer fight under Baronius's banner, nor encounter Petavius alone in single combat on his behalf; but will set up for himself a chronological demonstration; and it seems to be the first of that nature that ever he ventured on. A man never exposes himself so much as when he will needs talk confidently of things he understands not; declaiming here will not do, nor a good face and assurance. He has the same fate that another adversary which Petavius had in his life-time came to; who having published a chronology, for which he highly valued himself (as some ignorant readers think our author has shewed great



learning in this) Petavius, taking it to task, discovered most egregious blunders in it; advised him never more to pretend to a mastership in that sort of learning; but, such a chronologer, says he,

*Discipulorum inter jubeo plorare cathedras.*

I shall not trace the demonstration along by its several steps; it takes up eight pages; it, I mean, and the large encomium of *the late glorious*, &c. in the belly of it; whose coming into England is pertinently brought in to illustrate the notoriety of the time of Christ's coming into the world. One, he says, could no more be forgot than the other.

It traces in a notable manner the years of Christ's life compared with those of the Emperors, sometimes upward, sometimes downward. He demonstrates Christ to have lived sometimes but thirty-one years, sometimes but thirty, sometimes thirty-three; and Tiberius's time after the death of Augustus (which is known by every historian to a day) sometimes twenty, sometimes twenty-three; as if a difference of three years were nothing in a dispute, which is but about five or six in all. In the search after the year of Christ's birth he ridiculously takes it for granted that he was born the first year of the common era: — and many such proofs of his skill there are.

Many disputes of learned and unlearned, of antients and moderns, have been concerning our Saviour's age. Whoever of them be in the right, it is certain Mr. Gale is in the wrong; who, in spite of Irenæus making it to be but of thirty, or thirty-one, or thirty-three years, does by consequence make him to be born after Herod was dead; and so by another consequence does, instead of proving Irenæus's book spurious, prove St. Matthew's (which places his birth in the days of Herod) to be so; for it is so plain by circumstances as to be now uncontroverted, that Herod died in the year of the Julian period 4710; and hardly any do maintain the contrary but that our blessed Saviour died in the year

(of the same period 4746, from which thirty-three or thirty-four reach back but to 4712 or 13; and yet the circumstances of the star, the wise men coming from the east, the forty days of the blessed Virgin's purification, the return to Nazareth, the flight into Egypt and stay there, are proofs that the nativity of Christ was a considerable time before Herod's death.

This ignorance is the more palpable and shameful, because, though he had no skill in chronological calculations (as it is plain he has not, and therefore should not have pretended to discuss these things) yet he may be supposed acquainted with our English Bible; in several editions whereof, for the use of readers unskilful in such matters, the years of Christ's life are set in the margin against the several passages of it, and he might have seen the thirty-sixth year set to the last of them. If this were only in the church Bibles, he might be supposed never to have seen them; but the lesser editions, with the same chronological notes, are common in the hands of children that learn to read the Bible.

There have been Christians so ignorant of this matter as to think our Saviour lived but thirty-one years (whom Irenæus here confutes) but none for these last thousand years; and there have been since some that thought he lived but thirty-three; but none that had studied that point (except Mr. Gale) for these hundred years. The thirty-third year of the common era is, indeed, the year on which almost all do place his death; but he that does not yet know that the beginning of that era is several years below the real year of his birth, should not have meddled with this question.

Were it not for one passage in St. Luke (iii. 23) that our Saviour, in the 15th year of Tiberius, when he was baptized, *began to be about thirty years of age*, all the other circumstances mentioned in the gospel history are such from which one would have guessed, as Irenæus does, that he had lived to an elder age. That passage has tortured all chronologers who have gone about to reconcile it with Matt. ii. 1, &c. that his birth was in the days of Herod the king; for the 15th of Ti-

berius (taking it according to the common construction) began Aug. 19, in the year of Jul. per. 4741 (fourteen years then expiring, and the 15th beginning from the death of Augustus, which was Aug. 19, 4727). Now Herod having died (as I said) in the year 4710 (a little before the passover, as Josephus shews) thirty years reckoned upwards from Aug. 19, 4741, reach back no farther than to Aug. 19, in the year 4711, which is a year and upwards after Herod's death; so that some greater skill in these matters than our author shews, is necessary to explain these two places of Scripture, so as that one of them may not be contrary to the other.

Bishop Pearson (who had studied this matter as deeply as any one) does in his *Lectiones in Acta Apost.* shew the difficulties which still remain in this computation; some of which I will here set down, that they may abate the confidence of any writer of our author's scantling, who is so far from being able to overcome them, that he does not know of them, and yet reproaches St. Irenæus for being in some mistake in a calculation which no man then or since has been able certainly to fix, but in no mistake so gross as Mr. Gale's own are.

Bishop Pearson had said that the beginning of the Christian Church is to be fixed at that Pentecost mentioned Acts ii, and then adds,

“But what year that was in [or, which is all one, what year it was in which Christ died] does not, I think, appear from the Scripture; nor is there any character left which does certainly and determinately fix it.

“That Christ was born under the reign of Herod we know; how many years he [Christ] lived is not certainly known; we know that he was born in the time of the taxing made by Cyrenius; but what year that was, the annals do not teach; therefore there can no certain and undoubted epoch be made from the true time of our Saviour's birth.

“That John began the office of baptizing in the 15th year of Tiberius is certain; but how long he had exercised it before Christ was baptized by him, — how soon

Christ, after his baptism, began to preach the gospel, — how many passovers there were between his baptism and his death, — does not yet fully appear, &c..

“The most ancient fathers have delivered nothing certain about the years of Christ’s life. The opinion of his preaching but one year (which is manifestly false) as it began very early, so it prevailed a long time :

“That Christ was crucified under Pontius Pilate is certain ; but Josephus briefly passes over the affairs of Pilate in Judea ; and does not distinguish his several years :

“That the vulgar era is not true (as to the time of Christ’s birth) we may be sure, since it does not reach back to the time of Herod, nor to thirty years above the 15th of Tiberius.”

These are the things which Mr. Gale thinks Irenæus must know all of them, though he himself knows none of them.

As for the year of Christ’s death, which Bishop Pearson thinks not certainly and determinately known, he himself, a little after (because one that would recite the history of any passages in a chronological order, must fix some epocha or other) fixes it on the 19th of Tiberius, which is of the vulgar era 33, of the Julian period 4746, as the most probable ; and so indeed do all chronologers of late ; but how old he was then when he died, or how many years before the beginning of the vulgar era his birth was, he says nothing there ; and I know not whether he did ever afterward discuss that point at large ; but in his *Vindiciæ Ignat. Epist.* part 2, c. 1., he does just mention his opinion (and his opinion is preferable to some mens’ demonstrations) that the 7th year of the common era was really the 13th of Christ’s life ; and, consequently, the 33d (in which he died) must be the 39th ; and how little does this differ from Irenæus, from whose words all that one can conclude is, that he thought Christ to have lived in all forty or more years ! — and how little reason had one, that is really a learned man (whether exercised in this study I know not) to reckon it amongst the *nona* or blemishes of

Mr. Dodwell, that he thought Christ to have lived to thirty-eight! Other chronologers do place the nativity, some five, some four years before the first of those which we call *Anno Domini*, which was per. Jul. 4714; but not one that was ever called *learned* (beside Mr. Gale) so late as that year.

There is no possible reconciling the two foresaid texts without raising the 15th of Tiberius higher, or bringing down the death of Herod lower than they commonly stand in the chronological tables. Many of the ancient Christians, either having no knowledge of, or else not minding, the time of Herod's death, nor having observed the several passovers mentioned during our Saviour's preaching, set his birth lower, and his death higher, than is consistent with history.

Of the moderns, Baronius, by the most absurd and inconsistent guess that ever was made, brings down Herod's death nine years; Scaliger two years.

The rest generally finding that the times of Herod are so connected in history with the years of Augustus (with whom he had a constant intercourse of visits, letters, embassies, &c.) and with the Roman affairs; and that his death is set down by Josephus with so many circumstances (an eclipse for one) that there is no moving it from its year, have thought there is some mistake in our understanding what St. Luke says of the 15th of Tiberius, and our Saviour being then but thirty years old.

Mr. Pagi having observed that Augustus, four years before his death, invested Tiberius with a proconsulary power, thinks that the 15th year of Tiberius's *ηγεμονία* may be understood by St. Luke as dated from that time; and then that 15th is but the 11th year of his full imperial power from the death of Augustus; which 11th year begins Aug. 19, *anno Domini* 24, and ends Aug. 19, *anno Domini* 25, *Assinio et Lentulo Coss.*; so that our Saviour was thirty-four in that year of Tiberius, which we now commonly call his 15th, *Anno* per. Jul. 4742, and consequently was born *anno* 4708, which is two years before Herod's death; which reconciles St.

Luke with St. Matthew, and allows our Saviour thirty-seven years complete, and part of the thirty-eighth.

But as one that alters any thing in old accounts to stop one gap, does often, before he is aware, make another; this way of reconciling St. Luke with St. Matthew makes St. Luke disagree with himself; for he (chap. iii. 1) says, That at this 15th of Tiberius, Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea; but in that year, *anno Dom. 25*, he was not yet come to that government. Valerius Gratus as yet held it.

Bishop Usher is the man who in this and other parts of chronology seems to have considered every circumstance, and to have provided against all objections. He numbers that 15th year of Tiberius, not from the death of Augustus indeed (for thirty years counted back from thence do not reach to Herod's death) nor yet from the proconsulship; but from that act of the senate mentioned by Suetonius, *in Tib. c. 21*, and Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 12; and referred to by Tacitus (*Annal. lib. 1, e. 3*) when Augustus being very old, the senate did, at his request, confer upon Tiberius an equal power with him *in governing the provinces*. This gave to the provinces a reasonable ground to compute the beginning of his government (St. Luke's word is, not *reign*; but *ηγεμονία*) from that time; and to St. Luke, being a provincial, to follow that date. This was two years before Augustus died, *anno Domini 12*; and the 14th year of this government of Tiberius ended, and the 15th began, sometime toward the latter part of *anno Domini 26*, per. Jul. 4799; and at that time Pilate may well be supposed to have entered on his office. Then our Saviour was baptized; and thirty years reckoned back from that time make him to have been born the latter part of *ann. per. Jul. 4709*, the 5th year before the beginning of the common era, — the 40th of Augustus, reckoning his reign from the murdering of Cæsar; so by this account, *anno Dom. 26*; our Saviour was thirty, and entered his thirty-first before the end of that year; and, *anno Dom. 32*, was thirty-six; and entered his thirty-seventh before the end of the year; and being put

to death at the passover, viz. April 3, of the next year, *anno Dom.* 33, was then thirty-six years old and about an half.

Of the seven years that were between his baptism and his crucifixion, Bishop Usher supposes (as Irenæus does) that several of them passed before he began his public preaching; and it is a very probable supposition. Irenæus indeed supposes too many; but Bishop Usher three and a half; for he reckons that this last seven years of Christ's life was the last week of Daniel's seventy weeks of years, — one half thereof was taken up with the preparatory ministry of John (our Saviour, though then baptized, living a private life the while) and the latter half with the ministry of Christ himself, who by this account, was thirty at his baptism, *anno* 26. Thirty-three and a half at the first passover of his ministry, *anno* 30; and (as he supposes four passovers in all) thirty-six and about a half at the last of them, when he offered up himself.

Dr. Allix, the last who has wrote a treatise purposely on this subject (*De Anno Christi Natali*) agrees with Bishop Usher both as to the year on which Christ was born, and that in which he died; but differs about the month of his nativity, and in the distribution of the years of his life. He reckons St. Luke's 15th of Tiberius, to be the 15th from the death of Augustus; the latter part of which falls in the fore part of *ann. per.* Jul. 4742, *anno Dom.* 29, *Duobus Geminis Cass.*; and that our Saviour was then baptized. He would have no new interpretation put on Luke i. 3, concerning the 15th of Tiberius; but, instead of it, helps himself into the road of other chronologers by explaining in his own way Luke iii. 23, which says, Christ was then *beginning to be about thirty*. He says he was thirty-three; and that St. Luke's word (*ὡς ἐπὶ τριάκοντα*) *about thirty* (he speaking *ἀκυρολόγως*, not pretending to exactness of the number) will bear that; and that after his baptism there were five passovers before his death, which make up the years of his life completely thirty-seven.

His reason for not allowing Bishop Usher's account

of the baptism of Christ, *anno Dom.* 26 (which was the 15th of Tiberius's consortship in governing the provinces, but no more than the 13th of his full imperial power) is, that Pilate's government in Judea could not begin so soon as *ann.* 26; because he, as Josephus says, continued but ten years in the place; and being sent for by Tiberius to answer for his crimes, saved his neck by Tiberius dying before he arrived at Rome. Now, Tiberius's death was March 16, *anno Domini* 37; therefore, Dr. Allix thinks Pilate must have held his office till the end of *ann.* 36; and, consequently, having been in it but ten years, could not have begun it in any part of *ann.* 26.

But Bishop Usher had answered this objection before it was made: that the hinderances and delays in the navigation to Rome in that winter time, might be more than three months; and besides, the number of ten years in Josephus need not be taken so precisely, as not to admit of six or seven months over. What he says in a cursory way is, that Pilate (*δέκα ἔτεσι διαρρίψας*) 'having continued ten years, was driven,' &c.; which is what any historian would say, speaking in brief of the time of so hated a governor, though he had continued for any fraction of months that did not make it eleven; so that being discarded toward the latter end of thirty-six he might have begun in twenty-six.

Whereas there is an objection obvious against Dr. Allix's scheme: that if our Saviour had been thirty-three at his baptism, St. Luke, though he might have said *about thirty*, yet would never have used the word *ἀρχόμενος* (he *begun* to be, or *was near*) if he were three years *above* it. He answers, That Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 1) reads it, not *ἀρχόμενος*, but *ἐρχόμενος* (as he does indeed, "Ὦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὡς ἑτῶν λ); and that the *Codex Vaticanus* has the text so: to which may be added, that it is pretty plain that Justin Martyr read the text without *ἀρχόμενος* in it; for he, in his *Dialog. circa medium*, p. 94, *Ed. Steph.* laying before Trypho a short account of the passages of our Saviour's life, says That he "having staid (*τριάκοντα ἔτη,*



ἢ πλείονα, ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσονα) thirty years, or some more, or some fewer, until John came," &c. ; and it is more intelligible to say "He was about thirty," than "He began to be about thirty."

Some chronologers have made much more bold with these texts, to make them agree to their account of time. Some have thought that in Luke ii. 2, which speaks of the *census*, or taxing, under which Christ was born (which Mr. Gale thinks might have directed Irenæus to the time of the birth, shewing thereby his own ignorance, for the time of that taxing is harder to settle than of the birth itself) the name of Cyrenius, or Quirinius, has been, by mistake of transcribers, written for Quintilius; meaning Quintilius Varus, who is much spoken of by Josephus, as the ordinary governor of Syria, in the latter end of Herod's time, and is mentioned as such by the Roman historians; and others would have the name Saturninus substituted, who likewise had that place next before Varus; whereas there is not in Josephus, or any Latin historian, any mention of Quirinius [or Cyrenius] having that government any thing near that time. Ten or twelve years afterwards indeed, Sulpitius Quirinius was made governor of Syria, and was ordered to take possession of Judea (which borders on it) and is accounted the first governor of Judea (which, till that time, was governed by its own kings) and he taxed the people; but this cannot be the time that St. Luke means; for our Saviour was by this time ten or twelve years old.

If we were to admit or suppose any mistake committed by transcribers in the texts concerning Christ's age, I should think it more likely to have been in the numerical word or figure of *thirty*, than in any other word of the text; — it being more ordinary for scribes to mistake in those figures than in other words; and there being several *errata* of that nature in the copies of the Scripture itself; as in 2 Chron. xxii. 2, the number forty-two is kept in the text, though it be plain it should be twenty-two. In this place of St. Luke the mistake of a λ for a μ; or (if it were in words) of τριάκοντα for

*τασσεσθαι*, might create all the difficulties we have been speaking of; for there is no other text, nor any other circumstance, from which one would have computed our Saviour's birth to have been so late as it is commonly computed, but this place. There are many from which one would have guessed it earlier. The only reason that Irenæus or others had to fix or suppose it on the 41st year of Augustus (before which year, if we reckon his years from his triumvirate, or first consulship, as Irenæus does, Herod was dead) was, their reckoning back twenty-nine or thirty years from the 15th of Tiberius as ordinarily placed, which cannot be a true reckoning.

Of the many texts and many circumstances I spoke of, these are some: —

1. From St. Matthew's account, one would be inclined to think that our Saviour Jesus was born (not only before Herod's death, as he certainly was, but) a considerable time before it. Epiphanius and others, who had not considered the distance between Herod's death and the said 15th year, but allowed the spaces of time, as they thought the circumstances in St. Matthew did require, concluded that his nativity was four years before Herod died; Baronius eight.

2. If more time were allowed, one would reasonably have supposed, from the text, that John had began and continued his baptizing a considerable time before Christ came to be baptized of him; for as Isaiah and Malachi had spoke much of the preparation that he should make for the Messiah, by converting the people to repentance, — so the three evangelists, who give the history of Christ's baptism by him, do speak of things that might seem to require some time, as done by him, before they relate his baptizing of Christ; as, namely, that *he came into all the country about Jordan* (Luke iii. 3); and that *there went out to him Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him* (Matt. iii. 5, 6); and St. Luke having said (ver. 15) *All men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or no*, says (ver. 21)

*Now, when all the people were baptized, it came to pass that Jesus also, &c. ; and St. Paul (Acts xiii. 24) John first preached, before his coming, the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel.*

Now, it was the 15th of Tiberius that *the word of God came to John ; and he went out, &c.* One might think it was some following year on which Christ was baptized, beginning then to be about thirty ; but that cannot be, if that date of time be taken precisely ; for it is the hardest matter in the world to bring the 15th of Tiberius within thirty years of Herod ; and to bring any latter year within that space must not be attempted. The chronologers are forced to connect, as close and immediately as possible, the nativity to Herod's death, and the baptism to the calling of John.

3. There would have been no need of stretching the number of the passovers in Christ's ministry after his baptism (which some make three, and that does pretty plainly appear ; some four, and some five) nor of supposing that St. Luke counted the years of Tiberius otherwise than from the death of Augustus ; if more time were allowed before the baptism.

4. That saying of the Jews to our Saviour (John viii. 57) *Thou art not yet fifty years old*, would make any reader apprehend that they took him then to be forty or upward ; for when they were to express the absurdity of the supposition that he had seen Abraham, being no older than he was, they would not, one would think, call his age much more than they thought it to be. If they had taken him to be but little above thirty, they would have said, "Thou art not yet forty ;" therefore, the putting of the case, that he was then forty or more, makes that saying of theirs a much more reasonable answer.

Not to say any thing now of what Irenæus had heard those ancient men say of St. John's speaking of our Saviour as having lived to an *elderly age*,

I am far from thinking these reasons sufficient to conclude there has been any alteration in the word *ἐπὶ τριάκοντα*

(which was read by Justin, Irenæus, Clemen. &c. and is in all the copies that are extant); but that there is more appearance of reason for that, than for altering the names of the governors of Syria aforesaid.

As to the difficulties that arise in settling the time of that *'Αρογασίη* [the numbering, enrolling, or taxing] mentioned by St. Luke (chap. ii. 2) to have been at Christ's birth, they are more easily removed, not by any alteration of the names or of the words, but of the translations that have been given of the phrase. The translations represent St. Luke's meaning to be, That this taxing was made when Cyrenius [or Quirinius] was governor of Syria; but it is much more probable that his meaning was, on the contrary, to contradistinguish this taxing from that which was in Cyrenius's time, and to signify that this was before that.

It is to be noted, that there was a very remarkable change of the government in Judea, *anno Domini* 7 (which was of our Saviour's true age, according to Bishop Pearson, as I quoted before, the 13th year; according to Bishop Usher, the 11th): a revolution, accompanied with taxing of the persons and their estates, which, at the time that St. Luke wrote, many could remember; and of this taxing in Judea, Cyrenius, a man of consular dignity at Rome (he had been consul eighteen years before) being made governor of Syria (which was a province adjoining Judea) was ordered by Augustus to have the management. The history of it is at large set down by Josephus, lib. 18.

He had said before how, at Herod's death, the chief of the people, having been wearied out by his cruelties, and the grievances which they had suffered under him (for he had utterly corrupted their church government, and had made the high priesthood, which their law accounted most sacred, venal and mercenary, — putting in and turning out the high priests at his pleasure, and choosing for that office men the most hated by the priests and people) had petitioned Augustus, that they might have no more kings; but that they might be governed immediately by the Romans, to whom they were

already tributary. Augustus would have them try once more; and confirmed the kingdom [or *ethnarchy*] to Archelaus; and the tetrarchies to the other sons, as Herod had left it by will. They bore with Archelaus for nine years and part of the tenth. He proving no better than his father, they renewed their complaints and petition. Augustus sent for him, heard the matters, banished him into another part of the world, and reduced the kingdom to a province.

Then, as Josephus relates (lib. 18, c. 1) Quirinius was sent to be governor of Syria, and to come into Judea, which was now annexed to Syria, to seize on Archelaus's money, and to *tax the people's estates*. One Judas (whom, in the next chapter, he styles Judas of Galilee) together with Saddoc, the Pharisee, stirred up the people to rebel; telling them, that "this taxing was a mere bondage; and that they ought to stand up for their liberty, or else God would not help them; and the people rebelling accordingly, this proved a beginning of infinite mischiefs." He goes on to reckon up the governors of Judea from that time to Pontius Pilate, and from thence to the end of the Jewish state.

This taxing was so remarkable a time, that when in any writing or any discourse, there was mention of *the taxing*, or *the time of the taxing*, it would of course be understood of this. Some former numberings and enrolling of the people had gone through all the provinces of the empire; but without any paying of money at the time, — but this was a money-tax; so Gamaliel, in that speech of his (Acts v. 37) *After this man, rose up Judas, of Galilee, in the days of taxing*, means undoubtedly this, which had been about twenty-six years before.

When St. Luke was mentioning that numbering or enrolling [for it was not a taxing] of all the empire [not of all the world] by order of Cæsar Augustus, under which Christ was born, it might be necessary for him to advertise his reader, that he did not mean this taxing of Judea by Cyrenius, when he was governor of Syria; but one before it; for if the reader had taken it for this,

it must have created an utter confusion in his mind concerning the order of time; a mistake of ten years at least, which would have made the history of Christ's life inconsistent.

And he does, as I take it, so advertise his reader, if his words be construed in a sense of which they are well capable, and which is consistent with history, though all the translations have rendered them otherwise; but Dr. Whitby has, I see, taken notice of this construction, and endeavoured to confirm it; and so, perhaps, may several other authors whom I have not seen.

St. Luke's words are (chap. ii.) Having mentioned a decree of Cæsar Augustus, that there would be a *census*, or registering, or enrolling of all the empire, he adds, *Αὕτη ἡ Απογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνῆς*. The word *Πρῶτος*, with a genitive, sometimes has, both in Scripture and in other authors, the sense and property of *πρώτερος*, *prior to*, or *before* the thing next mentioned. In John i. 15, and again, ver. 30, it is of necessity so construed, as Dr. Whitby observes, *πρῶτος με ἦν*, 'He was *before* me;' and Nonnus, in the paraphrase of that place, uses both it and *πρωτίστος* so. *Πρῶτος ἐμεῖο βίβηκεν, ὁπίστέρος ὅστις ἵκανει, Ὅττι μὲν ἦν πρωτίστος*; and there are several examples of the like in the Greek writers; some of which Dr. Whitby quotes in his comment on this place.

The sense, I think, requires that it should be so rendered here, — "In those days there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. This taxing (*πρῶτη ἐγένετο*) was *before* that Cyrenius was governor of Syria; or before that taxing which was made by Cyrenius, when he was governor of Syria." — Every body then remembered that taxing. If Christ had been born but then, he would not have been near thirty when he suffered.

Tertullian must needs have understood it so; for he (lib. 4, *contra Marcion*. c. 19) speaks of the enrolling or registering, at which Christ was born, as being known to have been in the time of Saturninus's government of Syria. "Constat (says he) census actos sub Augusto

nunc [i. tunc] in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum." "It is known that there was at that time [the time of Christ's birth] a registering of the people in Judæa, made under Augustus, by Sentius Saturninus.' Now if he took it to be in the time of Saturninus, he must know that it was not in the time of Quirinius (for there was about twelve years distance between Saturninus's going out of that office, and Quirinius's coming into it); and, consequently, must have understood this text of St. Luke, not *when*, but *before* Cyrenius was governor of Syria.

This interpretation of the place is confirmed by the difficulties which all, even the most skilful, chronologers that have taken it in the formerly received sense, have found in reconciling it with the history of those times. Baronius finding the times of Quirinius's government of Syria too late for Christ's birth, thrusts it up eight years, without any other reconciling of passages than saying broadly *Josephus is mistaken*. — Others, being aware that this is too gross (for this revolution of the state of Judæa is connected by circumstances with Roman affairs) do allow this taxing to have been at this time, as Josephus sets it, after Archelaus's banishment; but then they think that there was another registering or taxing of the whole empire before this, in Herod's time, under which Christ was born; in which they are certainly in the right (Tacitus says that Augustus made such rolls or reviews more than once); but then they suppose farther, that Quirinius was governor of Syria then too; and so the words of the English and other translations would infer.

Now this last is a very improbable thing. Josephus particularly names the governors of Syria during the latter part of Herod's reign. Not the years indeed of each of them; but, by circumstances, Titius must have been five or six years before Herod's death. Presently after he speaks of Saturninus, with whom Herod had much converse and business; and he seems to have held the place three or four years; and he says expressly that Saturninus was succeeded by Varus; in

whose time Herod died, after Varus had been his neighbour (as one may judge by the circumstances of their converse) about a year; so that here is no room for Quirinius. Some suppose, therefore, that Quirinius never was the *ordinary* governor of Syria in any part of Herod's reign (for that would have been mentioned); but that while Saturninus, or one or the other, was the *ordinary* governor, Quirinius was sent with an *extraordinary* commission to tax Judea; but this is very hard to suppose, while Judea had its own king. These sort of governors were not sent, except into such countries as were reduced to provinces, as Syria had been now for a long time, but Judea not yet; but suppose it, still there does not seem any reason that, in order to tax the people of Judea, he should be made governor of Syria.

The translations do not make very good sense. They do not know what to do with the word *πρώτη*. The vulgar *Hæc descriptio prima facta est a præside Syria Cyrenio*, some mean by it *Hæc prima descriptio*; — others, *Hæc descriptio primum facta est*. As ours, "This taxing was first made when," &c. Concerning any one taxing, it cannot properly be said to be *first* made at such or such a time; for one taxing is made but once. They who think Quirinius was twice governor, would, I suppose, if the words would bear it, translate "This taxing was made when Cyrenius was governor the first time;" but neither will the words bear that construction, nor is there any appearance that he was twice governor.

But if we understand it, "This was a taxing [or registering] *prior* to [or before] that which was when Cyrenius was governor of Syria," both the word *πρώτη* is necessary in the sentence, and it agrees with the history of the times.

I know that Justin Martyr, in his *Apology* to the Emperors, does suppose Christ to have been born at that time when Quirinius, being made the ordinary governor, did tax Judea. His words shew that he means that time; for he calls Quirinius "the first Governor of



Judea for the Romans." During the time of the kings, the Romans had no other governors in Judea but the kings; but when Archelaus (the last king or *ethnarch* there) did, as we call it, *abdicate*, then the Romans sent governors to receive the taxes and tribute; and of these Quirinius was the first; but for Justin to set the date of Christ's birth at this time, is a mistake of above ten years; and proves nothing but (what I said before) that the Christians of those times had no skill in keeping the account of time. Irenæus made no mistake comparable to this; and yet nobody for this has judged Justin's *Apology* to be spurious, nor even for his mistake of making Ptolemy Philadelphus contemporary with Herod; which is a mistake of above an hundred years.

I have been larger in this than was needful for answering Mr. Gale. Every one sees how poor an evasion it is, to deny the authenticity of any ancient Christian book, because it has mistakes in the chronology of the years of Christ's life. The explication I have given of St. Luke's words, concerning the taxing, does not, I confess, settle the time of it: it shews it to have been before Quirinius's time (and so removes a puzzling difficulty); but not how long before. I do not write these things for Mr. Gale, to whom they are useless, nor for the learned in chronology, to whom they are needless; but that the ordinary reader may have a conception of the years something nigher the truth. — Let us see some of Mr. Gale's arguments.

P. 470. He says "It was commonly known, from the censual rolls of Augustus, at what time and at what place our Lord was born;" and, therefore, he thinks Irenæus, or any of the ancient Christians, could not mistake the time.

To say It was *commonly* known is gross ignorance, if he thinks so; and a gross abuse of his ignorant reader, if he say it without thinking so. That there were rolls of the number of citizens or freemen in each province, laid up for some time in the capitol, or such like place, is very probable; but there is no account

of any Christian that ever saw them, nor likelihood that they might have had the sight and searching of them, to find the name of any particular person, if they had desired it; but he talks as if they were common in every body's hands. If any Christian had ever seen them, and had seen our Lord's name *Jesus* registered, as the son of Joseph and Mary, born in such a year of Augustus, and had declared to his fellow-Christians such his account, — this had at once ended all disputes and mistakes; and all Christians after that would have agreed in one account; — whereas we see, on the contrary, that those few of the antients that, about 150 or 200 years after the time, have said any thing about it, have differed very much, — not only Irenæus, but all the rest. Neither they nor we having any plain proof of the very year when Christ was born, or when that *census* or taxing was, but these two: — It must have been in Herod's time; and it must (if the words are taken strictly, and no mistake be in the copies) have been at or under the distance of thirty years, reckoned back from the 15th of Tiberius, computed from some *epocha*; but it is not certain from which.

He says "Justin Martyr and Tertullian do appeal to these rolls kept at Rome."

Justin does at the place I just mentioned (*Apol. 2, circa med.*) tell the emperors, that it had been prophesied that the Christ should be born at Bethlehem, a village nigh Jerusalem; and that our Jesus was accordingly born there. — "You may (says he) learn from the tax-rolls made by Cyrenius, your first governor in Judea." He supposed or guessed that there were then remaining in the emperor's custody such rolls; which they might, if they please, search; but it does not follow that any one that would might search them, — much less that any one had searched them upon this account; and the saying of Tertullian imports no more. He speaks of them as of rolls which one might suppose to be kept in the Roman archives, not as tho' he had seen them, or had any account of any one that had, much less as though he knew what they contained

concerning Christ's birth, or the time of it; and, indeed, if there were then any in being, and Justin and he had been permitted to search them, one of those two would have searched in the time of Quirinius, and the other in the rolls of Saturninus, as I shewed from their several words.

It is probable enough that both of them were mistaken in their guessing that the names of particular persons were set down in them. Suppose the names of every one, and the parents of every child, were set down in the first copies drawn up in the several provinces, yet it is likely that, in those copies sent to Rome and laid up there, there was recorded only the number of persons in each city, tribe, &c. and the value of the estates; else the account of all the provinces and kingdoms of that empire would have filled books too many for one house to hold. In short, those rolls, if they had been searched, might have given some light; but since nobody did search them, neither did Irenæus know, nor do we know, what was in them. Besides that, Irenæus' mistake was not in the date of Christ's birth. He sets that at the 41st of Augustus; which is the time, or within a year of the time, that the chronologers would have it; and which they think those rolls, if they had been searched, would have confirmed. His mistake was in the number of about ten years, which he supposes our Saviour to have lived after his baptism, and before his preaching; which number of years the time of Pontius Pilate, reckoned by Josephus to be but ten years, will not allow. He had not read, or did not mind, that limitation of ten years in Josephus. Just as Mr. Gale had not read, or did not mind, that of St. Matthew, that he was born in Herod's time; which will not allow him to have been so young as thirty at the 15th of Tiberius, taken by the ordinary account.

P. 471. "If Christ lived forty years from the 41st of Augustus, he could not be crucified in the reign of Tiberius." Why not? The 41st is indeed too late upon other accounts; but if he had been born *ann.*

per. Jul. 4710 (in which Augustus began his 41st year) since Tiberius lived to 4750, *anno Dom.* 37, there is the distance of forty years. Our Saviour did not indeed live to that last year of Tiberius; — but why does Mr. Gale say that if he had, he would not have been forty?

P. 471. "Pilate was removed from the government at least a year before Tiberius died." Whence comes this news? Josephus relates how Vitellius, governor of Syria, hearing of Pilate's villanies, sent Marcellus to take care of Judea, and ordered Pilate to be carried to Rome to answer for his crimes before Tiberius; but before he was brought thither, Tiberius died: that sailing to Rome could not take up nigh a year.

*Ibid.* "He was made governor in the 12th of Tiberius, and continued but ten years." Bishop Usher shews that it must have been ten years and some months over. Now, from the latter end of Tiberius's 12th year to his death, are but ten years seven months.

P. 472. Mr. Gale runs downward seventy years to the destruction of the Temple, to find the time of Christ's birth, reckoning backward up again the years of the emperors that were between, not one of them being truly accounted. The aim is, that since that destruction happened *anno Dom.* 70, he may, by subtracting out of seventy the years that passed between Christ's death and it, leave but a few for the time of his life. He cites authors that say forty (or some of them forty-two) years were between the passion and that destruction. This would leave for Christ's life but thirty or twenty-eight. Our chronologer himself was ashamed of this state of the account. By adding some scraps to the emperor's years, he makes the sum (which really was seventy and no more) seventy-one; so he leaves our Saviour thirty-one; and, to the shame of all chronologers, and of St. John (who recites at least three, probably four, passovers after the baptism at about thirty) says (p. 473) *About which age (viz. thirty-one) he was crucified.*

Could not this poor accountant perceive where the mistake of all this lies? The destruction of the temple by Titus was indeed *anno Domini* 70; that is, seventy years, and no more, had passed from the beginning of the common era, by which we reckon the *annus Domini* to the time of the destruction; but does it follow that no years had passed from the *true* time of Christ's birth? Every body that has spent an hour in these studies, knows that era is too short; and that our Saviour was born several years before the beginning of it, — six, or five, or four at the least; else nobody need study for the time of Christ's birth; but depend upon it, that it was from this present year 1719 years; and our disputant seems to know no better.

In the same page he very seriously quotes Clem. Alex. Origen, and Phlegon, as authors by whose computations the erroneous account of Irenæus may be made apparent. There Phlegon places the 15th of Tiberius (when St. Luke says our Saviour was baptized) forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, *anno Domini* 70; and Clemens and Origen place our Saviour's passion forty-two years before it; and he takes notice that Phlegon says so *expressly*; and that Irenæus cannot be supposed ignorant of it. Does he think these accounts to be true and consistent? If not, Why does he dwell upon them to the reproach of Irenæus? But if he do (and he seems to think so in earnest) then our Saviour died two years before he was baptized.

Rather he might have seen by this, that all men in those times, as well as Irenæus, were at a loss in counting the years of our Saviour's life.

That he may shew some of his own skill in chronology, beside what he quotes from authors, he says here, that this Phlegon wrote a little before Irenæus was born; and the next page but one, says he wrote but in Adrian's time. Does he think that Irenæus was not born before Adrian's time? and especially the latter end of it, *ann.* 138, to which year Phlegon brings

down his Chronicle? This cannot be Mr. Gale. This must be spurious.

P. 474. He runs over the same computation again out of Josephus, after a more absurd manner than before. He gives us a Table of the Years of the Emperors, wherein the reign of Tiberius is twenty, which every one knows was twenty-two and above an half; and which he himself, in the page before, had set down twenty-three. The state of this account is, in the next page, "Christ must have suffered at nearly thirty years of age." Boys that are taught arithmetic, if they perceive the total sum to be certainly wrong, cast it over again and amend it, before they shew it their master. Here is a *proficient* who shews his calculation to all the world,—the state whereof stands as you see!

P. 473. He has given us an *εὑρηκα* of his own (which, if it had been true, would have compensated the *tedium* of reading all this trash) that there are observations of eclipses that will settle all this matter. How ignorant have all chronologers been, who have in volumes disputed a question which this young master in the art can demonstrate at once! "It is plain," he says, "from, &c. and from the observations of eclipses, that Augustus died fourteen years after the birth of Christ." Now, the year of Augustus's death we all know; that it was per. Jul. 4727, *duobus Sertis Coss.* which is *anno Dom.* 14, and the day Aug. 19; — so then Mr. Gale's eclipse will fix our Saviour's birth some time in the year before *anno Domini* 1, per. Jul. 4713.

I should be unwilling to have so mean a thought of this corrector of Irenæus, as that he should intend no more than that Augustus died in the year aforesaid (which every one knows); and that an eclipse that year, at a certain distance before his death, and another in the same year, at a certain distance after it, do confirm that to be the year which the historians, who mention his death, do mean; but that if he be asked how old our Saviour was at that year, *anno Domini* 14, whether 14, or 16, or 18, or 20, and desired to prove

his answer by the history of some eclipse happening at a known distance from our Saviour's birth, — he should have nothing to say, but only that Augustus died in the 14th year of those called *the Years of our Lord*, we must not think so poorly till we hear farther from him about the eclipse. He himself has said, four or five times over, that the birth was the 41st of Augustus; and says, in the next page, that Augustus reigned fifty-seven years (so he did, reckoning from the death of his uncle, and something over); — the eclipse, when it comes, will make these pages spurious; or, else that fifty-seven exceeds forty-one but by fourteen.

P. 476. Mr. Gale makes a second exception against this passage in Irenæus, wherein infants are reckoned among those who, "by Christ, are regenerated unto God," that we have not the original words of it (as indeed we have not of any of his works, except a few fragments) but only a translation in Latin.

But since this translation is so ancient, — made either in the author's own time (as Dr. Grabe thinks) or at least, as he proves, soon after, and has been quoted, owned, and acknowledged all along ever since, this must appear to any reader of those ancient books, a very frivolous evasion, — made only for the necessity of an hypothesis, which cannot stand a fair trial; but this it is to have to do with an adversary that runs from the matter in hand into long disputes and cavils about the authenticity of the books.

All, or in a manner all, the quotations that have been made by the Latin fathers from Irenæus, have been taken from this translation, and have been allowed; and it is too late now to demur to its authority, especially in such a place as this, which runs agreeably and pertinently to what goes before and what follows.

It is indeed composed in an uncouth and barbarous Latin phrase, partly for that the translator had but a mean faculty in that phrase (which is no exception against the truth or faithfulness of the translation) and partly for that he has aimed to keep in his Latin all the idioms of the Greek which he translated; and to render

every sentence *verbatim* (which will make any translation barbarous); but this rather assures than overthrows the répute of its fidelity; and is the case (though not, perhaps, in the same degree) of all in that time, who translated the books of the Gospel, or any book which they accounted of awful authority, as is apparent in the fragments that are left of the old *Italic* version; and in the whole *vulgar* Latin translation of the Bible, and much more in the Greek *Septuagint*.

This is it which the writers whom Mr. Gale quotes here, do note as a fault in the translation, That it is in a dull, barbarous, unpolite style. They do not impeach the honesty of the man. His fault was, aiming at an excessive exactness: that unhandsome expression of Scaliger's (which nobody but Mr. Gale would have expressed with an air of seriousness) "That the translator was an ass," is taken out of a book, which has done Scaliger a great deal of discredit, as the like usage has done to Luther and some others. Both these men gave their pens too much liberty in censorious and extravagant expressions; but it seems they gave their tongues more; and they have had, after their death, friends, or else enemies, who have published to the world all their rash sayings spoken in passion, dispute, or table-talk; which course, if it were taken with the best men that are, would expose their character. It is well when a man's sedate thoughts are worth publishing. Nobody's tattle is.

As for the instances which Mr. Gale has picked out of the whole five books, where there is some variety between this translation and some transcripts of the original, found in Eusebius, Epiphanius, &c. they are not more considerable for sense, nor more in number, than are found in the copies of any book whatever that has had so many copies transcribed of it as this book and translation must be supposed to have had. Epiphanius might transcribe from one copy which had some various *lections* which the copy made use of by this translator had not. There are none that alter any doctrine, history, &c. delivered by this holy father.



Mr. Gale, who excepts against any doctrine of Irenæus being proved by this translation, might, with the same face, except against any one translation of the Bible; for in comparing that one with some other copies and some other translations, there would more various lections be found; and whatever various lections there are of any other place of Irenæus, there are none of the place before us.

To one that is so endless in his cavils and exceptions against books and translations, we must, I think, stop his mouth with that answer of Mr. Stokes, p. 43:—"It is your common method to evade the authority of the fathers, by saying They are but translations, &c.;—but you have neither originals nor translations of those early times on your side. Were there no Antipædobaptists then to translate?" &c.

P. 480. If the place must be allowed for genuine, yet Mr. Gale will not be found without something to say. His third exception is, that by the word *regenerated* in it, there is no reason to understand *baptized*; and whereas I had said that the word *regeneration* does, in the usual phrase of those times, signify *baptism*,—this he not only denies; but with that rudeness which seems natural to him, says "It is a sign that I never read the books of those times; and that nothing can be more apparently false."

To satisfy the reader who might not be acquainted with those books (for they that are, do know it themselves) I referred to what I had said in the Introduction, concerning the Jews applying this word *regenerated*, or *born again*, to the proselytes whom they baptized, and concerning some places of Scripture where it is so used; and I added at the place itself, for the present, some sayings both of the Latin and Greek fathers, which do plainly shew that they not only used that word for baptism, but also that they so appropriated it to baptism, as to exclude any other conversion or repentance that is not accompanied with baptism, from being signified by it: that I did it in that chapter itself, where I

quote Irenæus ; but the whole book afterward is full of quotations (I think above an hundred) where this sense plainly appears ; which the reader must turn to if he would see which of us is guilty of the *apparent falsehood*. What he has to overthrow them is,

P. 481, First, For the Jews. He first broadly denies that they used any initiatory baptism of proselytes at all (by which you see what an adversary I have got, that will deny what every body knows to be true) ; and faces it out, that he has proved they had none. Those that will, may take a journey to St. Albans to see his proofs ; but it will be to no purpose, since he declares beforehand in effect, that he will not lose if none be found ; for he adds “ However, if it should be allowed they had such a baptism, I believe they nowhere call it a *Regeneration*.” I had shewed him where they call it so. He observes, the word there is *new-born* ; and that any one becoming a proselyte is not said to be *new-born* neither, but *as new-born*.

I suppose he has some disciples whom he can convince that *new-born* and *regenerate* are not the same thing ; because one begins with an *N*, and the other with an *R* ; and some Nicodemuses, who will not believe they could be new-born or regenerate without entering the second time into their mother’s womb. When our Saviour says *Born again*, is it not meant *as born again* ?

If they were new-born and regenerate too, Mr. Gale will not yield. He denies that they were put into that state by baptism.

But it had been largely shewn before, that they accounted them to be made proselytes by baptism ; and, therefore, to say “ If any one become a proselyte, he is like a child new-born,” is as much as to say “ If any one be baptized ;” but he observes, that in one of the places the same is said of a slave made free, that he also is as a child new-born.

Maimonides does express that resemblance between a Gentile proselyted and a slave made free ; — that each of them is like a child new-born : which comparison

does the more lively express the regeneration spoken of. A slave, when made free, is regenerate, *i. e.* brought into a new state, in respect of temporal concerns, — as a proselyte, when baptized is, in respect of spiritual concerns. It is the spiritual regeneration we are speaking of.

But he pleads, “Why should not their circumcision be the regeneration as well as baptism?”

I grant it. A proselyte or a proselyte's child, was at that time to be circumcised and baptized; and both together were the symbol of his regeneration; and so it would be now to a Christian's child, or a man turning Christian, if Christ had appointed both to be used; but as he has appointed baptism only, — that only now is the symbol of the new spiritual state entered into, *i. e.* of the regeneration; — but to conclude, as Mr. Gale does, that the passages which I there produced, intimate no such thing of either of them, is like him; for they speak it plainly.

Being no better able to maintain his denial of this phrase used by the Jews, he turns the dispute into railing: — “If all the rabbins did assert this, is it becoming a Christian divine to forsake the Scriptures, and follow the rabbins?” A calumny this is, to call that the forsaking of the Scriptures, which is used as a help for the better understanding the language of them.

Secondly, For the Scripture. Mr. Gale, who had before told his reader that I pretended no proof from Scripture, comes the second time to attack my proof from John iii. 5, *Except any one be born again, born of water and of the Spirit, &c.* that the Scripture does call our baptism our new birth, or regeneration. He confesses those words are “a little obscure since the prevailing of infant baptism; for (he says) since that time all that were baptized were spoken of as regenerated; and then, infants being allowed to be baptized, they must be taken to be regenerated too.

Now, by this chronological calculation of the time when persons baptized were spoken of as regenerated; that it was since the prevailing of infant baptism, it ap-

pears that not only Irenæus (who, in the places we are upon, speaks so) lived since that time, but our Lord also; for that which is in other places expressed "baptized with water, and baptized with the Spirit," — he, in this text, expresses *born* [or regenerate] *of water and of the Spirit*.

P. 483. He says "The mistake may be easily seen; for our Lord does not say "Born of water alone," — but *Born of water and the Spirit*. He does not speak of two new births, one by water and one by the Spirit, but only of one, which was to be of water and the Spirit in conjunction."

Now, these are indeed the plain words, and this is the very sense of the place; and it is what we urge against the Antipædobaptists; and what, if they would keep it in mind, would set them right; therefore, see how long he is able to stand to this. Within the space of a page he has these words, in contradiction to our Lord and to himself: — "The baptizing in water is not the regenerating" [not that alone, we know; but he adds farther] "the regeneration really consists but in one, &c. He speaks *only* of being born of the Spirit;" and again (p. 486) "Our Saviour means only being born of the Spirit, by or in the use of baptism, as the external symbol and seal of such regeneration."

Our Saviour certainly means as he says, *Born of water and of the Spirit*; — and it is Mr. Gale's own mistake in the import of the word, that makes him think our Saviour's speech must be construed otherwise than the words stand. He thinks that *baptism* means *only* the outward part, the external washing; whereas it is (as he had better expressed it before in explaining the new birth) one baptism, or one regeneration, of water and the Spirit in conjunction. This mistake appears to hang in his mind by what he says,

P. 485, "Christ speaks of spiritual regeneration, and no other; for had he, by being born again, meant baptism," &c.

He speaks indeed of a spiritual regeneration, *i. e.* of the persons coming into a *new spiritual* state; which

is effected by the outward action appointed by Christ, accompanied with the grace and operation of his Spirit. As for the sense in which a baptized infant is *born of the Spirit*, I have been forced to speak of it twice or thrice already. Mr. Gale will not seem to understand that there is any efficacy at all of God's Spirit extended to infants to put them in a new spiritual state; but yet he dares not openly deny it.

He refers here (p. 484) to the 25th Article of the Church of England, as if that made for him. There is nothing there for his purpose. Our church plainly owns two parts in one sacrament: the outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace. If he pleaded only that the "inward spiritual grace, the being born of the Spirit," is the chief, no man would oppose him; — every one knows it.

P. 486. From another place of Scripture, which I cited to shew that the Scripture applies the word *regeneration* to baptism, it will appear by Mr. Gale's rule, that St. Paul also lived "since the time that infant baptism prevailed;" for he uses it so (Tit. iii. 5) *He saved us by the washing [or baptism] of regeneration.*

Mr. Gale allows that by the *washing of regeneration* is meant *baptism*; "that is (says he) by the whole phrase;" but then he brings in a logical quibble about the quiddities of the things; that *washing* denotes *baptism*; but regeneration does not.

This metaphysical distinction is grounded on that mistake of his (which I mentioned just now, and which runs through all his arguings) that the sacrament of baptism consists only in the outward part, the corporal washing; and it is nothing pertinent to our argument; for the argument requires no more than that the word *regeneration*, does generally in the Scripture (as here) and more constantly in the ancient fathers, carry along with it a supposal of baptism (whether as a cause, or effect, or necessary adjunct, is nothing to the purpose of our argument) so as that wherever any Christian author speaks of any persons *regenerated* (as Irenæus here speaks of infants regenerated) we may conclude

they were baptized : that regeneration does denote baptism. The reader saw before, at his 458th page, and sees here; and will see again, that whenever he is put to a shift, he flies to this logical quirk for an evasion. I gave a solution of it in answering his foresaid page 458.

P. 487. He objects, that baptism is often called the *Baptism of Repentance* ; and yet that repentance does not signify *baptism*.

This then shews the difference between the use of the word *repentance*, and the use of the word *regeneration*, or new birth ; that the name of *Penitent* is often in the Scripture and the Christian writers given to persons not yet baptized, or is given to them in respect of some great change and recovery from a sinful course into which they had after baptism fallen ; but the name of *Regeneration*, or *Regenerate*, never. In this very chapter concerning Irenæus, I gave the words of Greg. Nazianzen, warning a baptized person against falling back into courses of wickedness : “ There is not another regeneration to be had afterward, though it be sought with ever so much crying and tears ; ” and yet he grants, in the next words, that there is repentance after baptism. The baptism of John is often called *The Baptism of Repentance* (and all the three places of Scripture, which Mr. Gale produces here (Mark i. 4 ; Acts xiii. 24 ; and xix. 4) speak of that ; but none but the baptism of Christ is called *The Baptism of Regeneration*. Whatever epithets may be common to baptized and unbaptized persons, the term *regenerate* is not.

P. 489. Concerning the use of this word among the ancient Christians ; whereas I had said that, in their usual phrase, it signifies *baptism* ; — he, in his usual phrase, says “ It is one of the most groundless assertions that I ever met with, ” &c.

Now, the thing is what every one that has read them knows to be true ; — but how shall one convince his readers ? If any of them has read but so many of them as are recited in my book, he must see that this answer of their defender is not true. Mr. Whiston, though he be engaged on the same side, yet having read what I

say, and what he says here, owns, in his *Primitive Infant Baptism*, p. 7,

"That regeneration is here [viz. John iii. 3, 5] and elsewhere (generally if not constantly) used with relation to baptismal regeneration is undeniable."

Mr. Whiston adds, "not as supposing the bare outward ceremony to deserve that name;" which we all know. To disprove this use of the word, he tells his *Sir* that he has already shewn him that Justin, by the word *regeneration*, cannot be understood to mean baptism.

The words of Justin, which I produced, concerning new converts that came to be baptized were, "Then we bring them to some place where there is water; and they are regenerated by the same way of regeneration by which we were regenerated; for they are washed with water in the name," &c. The reader must pardon me for troubling him with the words over again, for I must declare, and I do it in cool blood, I never met with any one of so finished effrontery to deny things that are plain and visible. When Mr. Whiston said This use of the word was undeniable, he meant it could not be denied by any man of tolerable modesty.

For other fathers after Justin he has been searching the indexes; and though nineteen in twenty of the places to which they directed must have been plain for this sense, he has found some that may bear a cavil.

There is hardly any word whatever of so determinate and constant a meaning, when it is applied to one subject, but that if it be used in relation to another subject of a different nature, it takes a different sense. The word *baptism* itself is found sometimes used in relation to sufferings, or to vices; baptized with afflictions, or in voluptuousness, &c. This does not hinder us to say that the word *baptism* has a constant signification, viz. the sacramental washing in the form appointed. So if I say that the word *regenerate* has a constant sense among the ancient Christians, to mean or denote baptism, no man of sense will challenge me with instances where the world, or the earth, &c. is said to be regenerate.

rated, i. e. new made, new moulded, &c. because he naturally knew I was to be understood concerning the sense of the word when it is applied to men, and in their religious concerns.

And even when they are applied to the same subject (as regeneration to men) it is also common for all words to be used sometimes metaphorically, and by way of allusion; in which cases no man expects a strict account of the same sense of a word as it has in its ordinary signification; but such differences as these do always appear by the scope of the place. Now must I follow Mr. Gale in an impertinent ramble which he has made to pick up some such instances. They begin at

P. 489. There he brings two places of Origen, where, by his own confession, *παλιγγενεσία* is taken for the resurrection, the day of judgment, the world to come. Our English translation in one of the places which Origen there quotes (Matt. xix. 28) renders it the regeneration; but Origen takes it (and I suppose rightly) for that time of new making, or (as St. Peter, Acts iii. calls it) restitution of all things. To what purpose does Mr. Gale bring these places here?

Yet they might have been of some use to him; for they might have taught him to construe and translate that passage of Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 3) of which he had just before made nonsense. Clement's words are good sense, speaking of the Brachmans. *Καταφρονῶσι θάνατον, καὶ παρ' ὧν ἡγύοντο τὸ ζῆν· κείθονται γὰρ εἶναι παλιγγενεσίαν.* They fear not death, nor esteem life; for they believe that there is a resurrection.

The place that he quotes (p. 493) of *Clemens Romanus* may most fitly be considered here beforehand, because the sense of it is like these other. He says Noah preached *παλιγγενεσίαν* to the world; which is meant either (as Junius, the first editor, understands it) a resurrection; or else, that he, by preparing the ark, admonished men of that destruction and renovation of the world which was then coming, and did quickly come, whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished; and the restoring of it was a *παλιγγε-*



*veia.* Mr. Gale is angry with Junius for spoiling one of his quotations, and accosts that learned man with his usual rudeness, "It is strange what could be in Junius's mind,"—in a case where every reader sees that himself is in the wrong.

These places, where regeneration is applied to the world, should not have been set down at all in a question concerning the sense of that word when it is applied to the spiritual concerns of a person.

He has found two places where it is applied to a person, but in a very metaphorical way, which runs out from the common road of the use of words; and they are both in Clem. Alex. who generally gives himself a latitude in that way.

One is that recited by Eusebius, *H. E.* lib. 3, c. xxiii. In that example shewn by St. John of the recovery of the young apostate from a state of soul that might have been thought desperate by a repentance as extraordinary as the fact had been, Clement aims to express it in words also alike extraordinary. In the description of the repentance, among other expressions, he has this (which Mr. Gale should not have omitted) that he was βαπτίζομενος ἐκ δευτέρου, 'baptized the second time with his own tears;' and in carrying on this hyperbolical allegory, he says, St. John shewed in this performance μέγα γνῶρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, καὶ τρόπαιον ἀναστάσεως βλέπομένης, 'a great pattern of a regeneration, and instance of a visible resurrection.' In the same sense that he calls it a *regeneration*, he calls it also a *baptism*, and a *resurrection*, both one and the other hyperbolically expressed; for as, properly speaking, there is but *one baptism*, so Greg. Naz. (as I there cited him) says, There is not a *second regeneration*: not but that they allowed *repentance* afterward, but they in ordinary speech called no repentance by the name of *regeneration*, but that upon which any one was baptized.

The other is *Strom.* 2, p. 425. He had been speaking of the duties of matrimony, and the great guilt and mischief of adultery; and then says τὶ ἐν νόμος; 'what

‘provision does the law make against this?’ The substance of the answer is, That in order to clear the world from such mischiefs, the law orders the adulterer and the adulteress to be both put to death; and then he pretends to shew that the provision made by the Gospel is not inferior to this, that the law and the Gospel do agree, &c. Ἦγάρ τοι πορνεύσασα, &c. “For a woman that has fallen into adultery is, indeed, as yet alive in [or to] sin, but she is dead ταῖς ἐντολαῖς [or by] the commandments [dead in law]; but she, when she has repented, οἷον ἀναγεννηθεῖσα, being, as it were, born over again by the change of her manners, παλιγγενεσίαν ἔχει ζωῆς, has a resurrection to life; the former harlot being dead, and she that was begotten by repentance coming to life again.”

Mr. Gale, not observing the occasion of these words (which was not in the Index) has lost the emphasis of them, and translated them wrong; for τεθνηκίας μὲν τῆς πόρνῆς τῆς παλαιᾶς can never be construed “She is dead to the former adulteries,” but “The former adultress being dead.”

Nobody would seek for the ordinary sense of a word from such a sentence as this, which all runs upon a *quasi*; she is, as it were, another woman; and so is, as it were, born again; and, in the following words, Ἀντίκα λιθόλευστοι γίνονται, ‘They are at present stoned.’ He means They are by the sentence of condemnation in the Gospel, as it were, or in effect, stoned.

There are none of the other instances which he gives of the use of the word (which are at all pertinent to this matter) but what may, I think, be fairly supposed to have in the author’s meaning a relation to baptism, though he has picked out one or two where this relation is not at that place expressed. Tertullian says “We are born in the space of ten months, which is the number of the Commandments by which [or in which, or unto which] we are regenerated; which may be paraphrased [or baptized];” for the baptismal sponson was, as to believe in God; so also to keep his commandments. In which respect, as they often say, we are

regenerated [or baptized] to, or into, the creed, or faith; so here Tertullian means, we are baptized to, or unto, the keeping of the Commandments.

The rest of the places he cites, either have not the word at all (as that of Barnabas, which he calls a very remarkable one) or have it in a sense which is plainly enough, and in some of them expressly, applicable to baptism.

In Clement's *Epitome and Eclogæ* there is much talk of baptism; mostly concerning the Valentinians' way of explaining the doctrine thereof; and it appears that they, as well as the Catholics, gave it the name of *Regeneration*. There are such sayings as these (*Epitome*, p. 802) "Our regeneration is from water and the Spirit;" — and a little after, "Therefore our Saviour was baptized, though not needing it himself, that he might sanctify all water to those who should afterward be regenerated; — by it [meaning this regeneration] we are cleansed not only in body, but also in soul; and it is a proof of even our invisible [or inward] parts being sanctified by it, that unclean spirits which are infolded in the soul are purged away by this new and spiritual birth, the water above the heavens; forasmuch as baptism is performed by water and the Spirit," &c.; all this stands together in Clement, — and yet Mr. Gale;

P. 491, Leaves out all the rest, and quotes that scrap out of them, "This new and spiritual birth" [or generation]; and would make his reader believe they are spoken without any reference to baptism.

And at the same place he quotes out of the preceding page of Clement (p. 801) "Baptism, which is the sign of regeneration," as words making for his turn, and says, "Clement is so far from leaving any room to imagine baptism is regeneration, that he expressly says It is the sign of it."

All such places do, as I said before, help to prove that the antients connected the notion of regeneration with that of baptism, not limiting themselves to one logical idea of the word, but using it sometimes for the inward part of the sacrament, and oftener for the whole

complex notion of it; as it is not half a page from this where the words I last quoted are "Our regeneration is by water and the Spirit;" but never speak of it as a thing that can be separate from baptism. Mr. Gale's business was to prove that the word is used without including, supposing, or denoting baptism; so as that the infants which Irenæus speaks of, might be called *Regenerate* without being baptized. One more observation he makes,

P. 492, Out of these *Excerpta* (p. 800) which is a notable one. "Clement (he says) instead of calling baptism Generation or Regeneration, directly, on the contrary, calls it Death, and the End of the Old Life."

Now see the whole sentence: "Therefore baptism is called a Death, and the End of the Old Life, since we renounce all evil powers; but Life, according to Christ, who is the only Lord of it." — Did not he make a hard shift for this quotation? And is it not a learned argument, that baptism, if it be *a death unto sin*, cannot be *a new birth* unto righteousness?

For other books of Clement, where he speaks, not only the sense of the Valentinians, but his own, — Mr. Gale, at

P. 490, Quotes his *Pædagog.* lib. 1, p. 90, saying, "God receives those that fly to him, καὶ ἀναγεννῆσας τὸ πνεύματι εἰς υἰοθεσίαν, and having regenerated them by the Spirit to the adoption of sons, ἡπίους αἰδεν, finds them to be of a good disposition, and loves them," &c.

What difficulty could Mr. Gale find in apprehending the *regenerating of them by the Spirit* to be in the use of baptism, and in the same sense that our Saviour expressed, *Except any one be regenerated by water and the Spirit*? Is it because Clement does not mention the water at this place? But he does at forty other places; as, in the same book (p. 133) "God has made man of the dust; regenerated him of water, perfected him by the Spirit, instructed him by his word," &c.

Mr. Gale says "Here ἀναγεννῆσας Πνεύματι, I hope, cannot be thought to mean *baptized*, especially since it

is said that those that are regenerated are *πρωτοι*. Is not such arguing intolerably impertinent? Does baptism hinder people from being good, meek, or humble?

The same Clement (*Strom.* 5, p. 552) for a proof that the notion of regenerating by baptism is general, says; *ἐντα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Βαπτύροις φιλοσόφοις τὸ καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστι καὶ παρτοῖς ἀναγεννῆσαι λέγεται*, 'Since even among the Heathen philosophers, to instruct and baptize, is called to regenerate.' Mr. Gale, that he may turn this (which is indeed a proof of our sense of the word) to a proof against it, translates it "To instruct and enlighten the understanding;" not knowing, or not willing to own, that *παρτοῖς* in Clement, and other the most Christian writers, is used for *baptizing*. That Clement uses it so is apparent from forty places; but particularly from one which Mr. Gale saw, and quoted a little before a part of the paragraph in the story of the young man whom St. John recovered from his lost condition: The first part of that story was, that St. John committed him to a bishop, who (as St. Clement relates it) took him home to him; educated and instructed him, &c. *καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐβάπτισε*, 'and at last baptized him;' and (that Mr. Gale may be sure that is the meaning the next words are,) 'But after that, remitted of his care, for that he had now given him the perfect preservative, the seal of our Lord.'

And that the Heathens did use a baptism, such as St. Clement here speaks of, and did call it *regeneration*; he saw in that passage of Tertullian (which I cited) *de Baptismo*, c. 3. *Pinguntur, idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem perfuriorum suorum agere præsumunt*. They are baptized; and say they do it for their regeneration, &c. And adds afterwards, "This is the aim of the Devil imitating the things of God," by which he must refer to the Jewish baptism.

P. 432. He brings a place of Origen on John (p. 124) and gives a translation of it at large; but to what purpose in this question; no reader can guess. There is nothing in it against, but rather for, the notion of regeneration by the Christian baptism. The substance of

it is, That as the cures wrought by our Saviour on the bodies of men did promote a spiritual good, inasmuch as they invited to the faith those who were benefited by them, — so the baptism of water is, even of itself, a principle of heavenly gifts to him that yields himself up to the divine power of the invocations of the adorable Trinity. That the Spirit came upon those who were baptized, as is related in the Acts, so visibly (the water preparing a way for him in those who came in sincerity) that Simon Magus being amazed, &c. That the baptism of John was inferior to that of Jesus. That the effect of regeneration was not had with John, but with Jesus baptizing by his disciples. Then follow the last words: “And it [viz. the Christian baptism] is called the Washing of Regeneration, being performed with the renewing of the Spirit; who, being the Spirit of God, is now also carried [or moveth] upon the face of the water; but does not come upon all men after the water.

The term *regeneration* is here mentioned; but is it not here, as it is everywhere else, referred to baptism? Mr. Gale does not tell us what he cited this sentence for. If he lays his stress upon the last words, which he translates *which is now also preferred before the water* (as if that were any news that the Spirit of God is preferable to the water) that, though undoubtedly true, is a mistaken and ignorant translation of Origen's words here; for ἐπιφρονέιν ἐπάνω τῷ ὕδατι does not signify that, but is a recital of that expression (Gen. i. 2) Καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπιφύετο ἐπάνω τῷ ὕδατι, *And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the water.* Origen meaning to express how in the sacrament of baptism the Holy Spirit is present and does ratify the promises thereof, does (in allusion to that Scripture phrase, of his being at the Creation *carried* [or moving] *upon the face of the water*) speak of it as being so in the case of baptism also; Τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπιφρονέιν, *Who is now also, i. e. in this case also of baptism, accompanying the water; but to say that now also, i. e. in the administration of baptism also, the Spirit of God is preferred above the water,* is too insipid a sense for Mr. Gale to

ascribe to Origen; and if it were the sense, it avails nothing to the proof of that which he brings it for, viz. that Origen mentions here *regeneration* without denoting baptism, for it is the baptismal regeneration that he is speaking of.

Thus I have had the patient to follow him, and trace all the quotations he has brought against me; which, after all, do prove utterly impertinent to the purpose he brings them for; and, indeed, it was impossible to disprove a thing so certainly true as this is, that this word is constantly used by the antients with a relation to baptism. Or if there were among thousands of instances one or two where that sense did not appear (as it happens in the case of almost all words, that a man may light on some few places where they are used in an odd and improper sense) yet that ought not to be accounted sufficient to overthrow a general rule.

The sense was so known and universally received both in the Greek and Latin Church (which concurrence of the two Churches in the use of their phrases, does not happen always) that a writer citing a place out of another author, or out of the Scriptures, will sometimes (quoting by memory) use one of those words where his author had used the other: as Clement, in one or two of the places which I have recited, quoting the Scripture where Christ was baptized by John, expresses it *regenerated by him*; and St. Hieron does the same; and so on the other side; the *Constitutions*, lib. 6, c. 16, citing John iii. 5, *Except any one be born of water*, &c. expresses it, *λίγαι γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, ἐν τῇ τῆς βαπτισμῆς ὕδατος*, &c. 'The Lord says, except any one be baptized with water and the Spirit;'—beside the drudgery I must bear with his reproaches.

P. 493. "And now, could any body, Sir, that had read these passages fairly, pretend, &c. If Mr. Wall had not read these books, he ought not so readily, &c. If he had read them, what excuse can be framed for him?"

I have read so much of them, that I am sure of one of these things, That either he has not read them any

other way than by indexes, or else does not understand them, or else, against his conscience, forces out a sense contrary to what he sees in them; for in several of these places which he cites, the sentences before or after, makes it palpable that this word is taken in that sense against which he contends. Most that he here brings are out of Clemens Alexandrinus. No writer can shew the sense in which he takes the word *regenerated* more clearly or positively; to give one instance, to which others, if they be searched, will prove like. Mr. Gale brings a passage out of his *Pædagog.* lib. 1, p. 90, where he would pervert the sense as I shewed just now. If he had read on he could not have mistaken; for in the next page but one (p. 92) where Clement disputes against some who pretended that baptism does not put us into a complete state of Christianity (they required something else, I know not what) he has such sayings as these: *Ἀναγεννηθέντες ἐν ὕδατι, &c.* "When we are regenerated [by which he means plainly there *baptized*] we presently receive the perfection," &c. "When our Lord was baptized, *ἀντίκα γὰρ βαπτισθέντι τῷ Κυρίῳ*, presently came the voice from Heaven, declaring him the Beloved," &c. "Let us then ask these wise men, was Christ as soon as he was regenerated, *ἀναγεννηθεὶς*, perfect or not," &c. "As soon as baptized by John, he is perfect," &c. "He is perfect by the laver alone; and sanctified by the coming of the Holy Spirit on him;" and a little after, *Ὁ μόνον ἀναγεννηθεὶς, ὁπερὸν καὶ τὸ νομίζειν, καὶ φανερὸν, &c.* "He that is once regenerated (as the name of that thing is) and enlightened, is presently freed from darkness [or the state of darkness] and receives from that time light [or the state of light].

Beside that the words *baptized* and *regenerate* are here used promiscuously; and that Christ himself is here said to be regenerated (which it were blasphemy to assert in any other sense than *baptized*) here are the very terms of the question. Regeneration, Clement says, is the name for baptism; which is the direct contradictory of what Mr. Gale would prove out of him.

This question, whether the word *regeneration* does



always imply *baptism*, is but subservient to the main question, whether infants were at this time baptized; but there is in this same *Pædagog.* of Clement, lib. 3, c. xi, p. 247, a passage which speaks of them, not only as baptized then in Clement's time (after the apostles 90) but also as baptized in the apostles' time, and by the apostles. I am ashamed I had not found it when I published my first and second editions. I have been lately advertised of it by learned men, and recite it in another place, which contains that and one or two more quotations fit to be added in the third edition of my *History of Infant Baptism*.

P. 494. Mr. Gale says of me, "What excuse can be framed for him; for it is apparent by these instances, &c. that the most ancient fathers by *regeneration*, mean something spiritual and internal, and very different from baptism."

Now the dream is out; it seems he has disputed against regeneration in baptism all this while, as supposing that there is not, or that we hold that there is not, any thing spiritual or internal in baptism. Whether any book whatever could have taught this man modesty, civility, or humility, I know not; but a Catechism (if his mother had had the grace to teach him it) would have instructed him, that the sacrament of baptism consists of two parts: the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace: the one done or used by men, by Christ's appointment; the other conferred by his own merciful covenant and promise; the fathers take it no otherwise; all Christians, Protestants, and Papists, take it no otherwise. If he had ever been at church, and had seen any person, adult or infant, baptized, the sentences, prayers, and thanksgivings used in that office do all express this. He has so long studied what *Baptis* signifies in the Heathen poets when they talk of washing wool, &c. that he has quite forgot what it imports in the Scripture, and in the fathers, when it is a holy sacrament; and the outward action is attended with God's heavenly grace and mercy, putting the per-

son into a new spiritual state; so here is half his book written on a wrong and ignorant supposition, and must be begun again.

Since this testimony concerning infants regenerated unto God by Christ is taken from Irenæus, I had shewed that, as the other fathers, so he particularly, does in all other places of his book which I had seen, use the word *regenerate* so as to include the notion of Baptism in its signification; and I recited one place (lib. 9, c. 19) where he plainly does so, and Dr. Grabe had made the same observation on the same place. — Mr. Gale,

P. 494, insults me as having not read the several places where Irenæus has the word; and, for the place which I had cited, attacks Dr. Grabe for understanding it so. I am surprized that the learned Dr. Grabe should refer to it also with the same design as our author, *de civ. Aghvav*.

There is no dealing with such a face but reciting again the passage. The title of the chapter is *De eo, qui descendit in ipsum, Spiritu*; Of the Spirit which came down on Jesus. It is to be noted that the Cærinthian and the Valentinian heretics divided Christ from Jesus, and said that Jesus of himself was a mere man; but that at his baptism Christ [meaning a divine power, or a divine person] came down upon him. Irenæus maintains the Scripture-doctrine, that Jesus and Christ are the same one person, and that the Holy Spirit came down upon him; and the substance of the chapter is to recite such texts of Scripture as do teach us the nature of the Holy Spirit. It begins thus: —

“The apostles might have said that Christ came down upon Jesus, &c. — But they neither knew of, nor said any such thing, &c. — But what was true, that they said, *That the Spirit of God came down upon him like a dove*; that Spirit which was spoken of by Isaiah. *The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him*; and again, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me*. That Spirit, of which our Lord says *It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of*

*your Father which speaketh in you. Et iterum, potestatem regenerationis in Deum demandans discipulis, dicebat eis; euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.* And, again, when he [Christ] gave his disciples the commission of regenerating unto God, he said to them *Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.*

He goes on to recite ten or twenty texts more where the Spirit is mentioned, as Joel ii, Ps. li, Acts ii, John xiv, &c.

Now that in this text of Matt. xxviii. 19 (where he observes that the Holy Spirit is one of the divine persons in whose name we are baptized) that commission which he calls the commission of *regenerating unto God*, is the commission of *baptizing*, is so plain by the very words of the sentence itself, *baptizing them in the name*, &c., that instead of spending time in proving it, or in answering the cavils that he raises from some words of the other texts not at all pertinent to the explication of this, I shall only desire any one to read them as a specimen of the property of an everlasting caviller against things that are plain.

He observes that Irenæus, commenting upon other texts recited in the same chapter, speaks of this Holy Spirit working in men the will of God; and renewing them *à vetustate in novitatem Christi*, 'from their old [or natural] state to a new state in Christ.' No doubt but these are offices and operations of the Holy Spirit, wrought partly in baptism, and partly at other times; but none of his offices have, in the phrase of the antients, the name of *regenerating*, except those which he does at baptism. At another place in the same chapter, Irenæus says "Our bodies have received that union which is to immortality by the laver [or washing] but our souls by the Spirit; so that both of them are necessary, since both do profit us to the life of God." Upon which Mr. Gale says, "This shews that he argues here chiefly upon that which is spiritual; and im-

plies the regeneration he has before spoken of was such. If that will do his cause any service, we will grant that both of these together do constitute and make up the regeneration; and, no doubt, but the office of the Holy Spirit is by far the chief of the two.

Dr. Grabe, in his notes on this place of Irenæus, where infants are said to be *regenerated to God* (by which he, as I think all that know the ancient phrase, understand it *baptized*) did, in confirmation of that sense, refer to another book where Irenæus uses the same phrase, and applies it to baptism, viz. Lib. 1, c. xviii.

There Irenæus relates how corrupt and abominable doctrines the Valentinians held concerning the sacrament of baptism. It is to be noted that they called baptism *redemption*; or (as some of them seem by Irenæus's words to have explained themselves) the outward part they called *baptism*, and the inward and spiritual grace *redemption*. And he says they had as many several ways of this redemption as there were leaders or mystagogues among them; but all so corrupt, that he affirms (and says it will appear when he comes to refute their particular tenets) that this sort [or generation of heretics] has been sent out by Satan (*ὡς ἐκπεπονητοῦ τοῦ σατάνης* τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀναγεννησέως, καὶ πάσης τῆς τιμῆς ἀποδοῦναι) for the frustrating of the baptism of regeneration to God, and the destruction of the whole faith [or Christian religion].

This phrase, where Irenæus calls the regular Christian baptism (which the Valentinians went about to corrupt and alter) *the baptism of regeneration to God*, Dr. Grabe referred to, as confirming that sense of the other place (where infants are said to be *regenerated to God*) to be, that they were baptized, and had that their regeneration, which Irenæus mentions, by baptism.

P. 496. Mr. Gale faces it out to that most learned, judicious, and modest person, "It is, I think, directly to the contrary sense;" and that, for no better reason than that Irenæus does not here say that baptism is regeneration, but only calls it the baptism of regenera-

tion. Let the reader scan this reason and be amazed at the degree of assurance of this man.

Irenæus says, in the next words, that the Valentinians do say that this redemption of theirs (i. e. those profane and blasphemous rites which they set up instead of the Christian baptism, and of which I gave some account in my book) "is necessary for all that have received the perfect *γνῶσις* [all true Gnostics] that they may be regenerated unto that Power which is above all." By which they meant a Power, or God, far above the God of the Christians, the Maker of the world.

Here Mr. Gale says "This being said of those who deny baptism, the word *regenerate* cannot mean baptized."

But cannot he see, that though they denied [or frustrated] the true Christian baptism (as Irenæus in the words before charges them) they set up ceremonies and forms of words to be used with the water, which they called *The true Baptism and Redemption*; and that which gave them the true regeneration?

By this we may see that these heretics, as well as the Catholics (and as we have seen before, the Jews and Heathens) did attribute to their several baptisms the name and power of *Regeneration*; so general was this notion.

Mr. Gale, perusing the account of the fancies of these heretics, catches hold of another twig. They said "Baptism is of the Jesus that was visible, for forgiveness of sins; but redemption is of the Christ that came down upon him for perfection." [This, by the way, shews who they were whom Clement speaks of in the place I recited just now, that said baptism alone did not make us perfect Christians, without some other rites. The Valentinians said their mysterious words and rites were needful for perfection]. They said moreover, that "One of these [baptism] is a carnal thing; the other [their redemption] is a spiritual thing." Mr. Gale says "This sufficiently distinguishes baptism from redemption."

So it does. Just as he did even now, when he said (p. 494) "The ancient fathers, by regeneration, meant

something spiritual and internal, and very different from baptism." It looks as if he meant these for his ancient fathers; for I know of none but them and himself that have taken baptism for only the outward (or, as they call it, *carnal*) action; or that argued, as he does, any thing spiritual and internal to be very different from baptism; and since, as they divided redemption from baptism, so they did Jesus from Christ, even let him take them, and let him make much of them; for none in all antiquity, talk of baptism so like him as they do.

At the end of this account (p. 496, 497) he is, he says, pretty well assured (I never knew him otherwise) that this word does never in Irenæus mean *baptize*.

Yet he begins again, — having found out of himself two places in Irenæus, where this word is; one, lib. 4, c. 59; the other, lib. 5, c. 15.

The latter of these nothing but an extraordinary fit of honesty could make him publish. Irenæus is there speaking of Christ's curing the man born blind, by making clay with his spittle, and anointing his eyes, and bidding him *Wash, &c.*; and thus descants upon it, That as Christ, working the will of his Father, did at first make man's body of clay, so he here made or repaired the organs of sight with it; "and because man, being in his first formation, in the human way of generation, formed [or born] in sin, did need the washing [or laver] of regeneration. After he had put the clay on his eyes, he said to him, *Go to Silvan, and wash*; restoring to him at once both the formation [viz. of his eyes] and the regeneration, which is by washing" [or the laver].

If this washing was not to him the sacramental baptism; yet it is plain that Irenæus says what he says here in allusion to it. In the same sense that it was a regeneration it was a baptism: both, perhaps, but by way of allusion.

Mr. Gale comes here again with his quiddity, and says Regeneration, which is *by* the laver, is different *from* the laver; — not minding that the force of his ob-

jection is equally taken off by its so accompanying the layer, as never to be without it in the sense of the ancients. He may see here that they did not regard logical niceties of expression: that which is called in the first part of this sentence *the Layer of Regeneration*, is, two lines after, styled *Regeneration by the Layer*,

In the other place (lib. 4, c. 59) I can sooner see that it makes nothing to Mr. Gale's sense, than I can what sense it does make. The sentence is certainly mangled. The text both in Feuardentius's and Dr. Grabe's edition, "*Quemadmodum autem relinquet mortis generationem, si non in novam generationem mire et inopinate a Deo, in signum autem salutis datam, quæ est ex virgine* [ ] *per fidem regenerationem?*" These are words that can have no construction at all. If there be inserted (as Dr. Grabe guesses there should, and Mr. Gale makes it the text) within the *uncia* I have left, the words [*credens eam recipiat quæ est*] it may be construed; but so as to have but a very obscure sense or emphasis, not to be understood, but by minding the title and scope of the chapter.

The chapter is against the Ebionites, whose infidelity consisted partly in disowning the divine nature of our Saviour, and partly in disbelieving his birth of a virgin: they took him to be born and conceived in the ordinary way. The words immediately preceding these are, of the necessity of our believing him to be God and Man. "How can they be saved, if he that on earth wrought their salvation were not God?" &c.

These words must be understood of the other point of their unbelief; and *novam generationem* must mean that *new way of generation* which God caused our Saviour to be conceived and born by; and the words *in signum salutis datam*, refer to that prophecy made to Ahaz, who, for a sign of his deliverance, had it said to him (Isa. vii. 14) *The Lord himself shall give you a sign, — behold, a virgin shall conceive, &c.*; and then I think it is,

"How shall any one leave the generation of death

[escape that death which attends the natural generation] if he do not (believing in that new way of generation which was given by God for a sign of salvation, to be in a miraculous and unconceivable manner by a virgin) receive that regeneration which is by the faith?" [or Christian Creed, or Belief.] If he do not receive that regeneration or baptism, which is, into the true faith, or creed. "To receive that regeneration, which is by the faith," is a like phrase to that which he uses (lib. 1, c. 1, *πρὸς τὴν ἑκκλῆσιαν τῶν μακρόν τῆς ἀληθείας, ὅτι διὰ τὸ βαπτισματικὸν εἰληφέ.* 'Who holds stedfast that rule of truth which he received at his baptism;' for all the Creeds of the churches of Catholics in those times, into which they were baptized, whatever article they omitted, had that of the "conception or birth of a virgin;" and that the rather for the sake of these Ebionites, who had begun in the apostles' time, Irenæus's admonition to them, to receive their regeneration by, or according to the faith, or belief of Christians, may well enough be understood to be by baptism into the true faith. Mr. Bingham and others have shewn, that (*Historic*) *the Faith*, is a common name for the Creed.

However, if Mr. Gale (who gives no paraphrase or explication at all how this sentence is to be applied to the Ebionites) do not approve of this, one instance in a sentence which has been mangled cannot set aside a general rule, otherwise known, concerning the use of a word. The next words are, "What adoption shall they have of God, if they continue in that generation [or birth] which is according to man [or natural to man] in this world?"

P. 498. Mr. Gale concludes more modestly than ordinary; and the assurance sinks in one and the same sentence, from a very high to a very low pitch. "If there should be *some* instances, where it [regeneration] does *sometimes* signify baptism, there are many *more*, or at least *some*, where it plainly signifies quite another thing. If it does not mean baptism *always*, then, perhaps, it may not in this place." How, alas! is this Mr.



Gale altered from that Mr. Gale who, in the page before, was so assured!

I gave this for one reason that Irenæus, when he speaks of infants *regenerated*, must mean *baptized*, because an infant is not capable of regeneration in any other sense of the word.

He answers, first, "This is only begging the question," which is a term that he gives to any argument, when he has nothing else to say. He seems not to know what a *petitio principii* is, for here is no sign of it.

But he says I have contradicted this myself, at another place, where I say "God does by his Spirit, at the time of baptism, seal and apply to the infant that is there dedicated to him, the promises of the covenant of which he is capable, viz. adoption, pardon of sin, translation out of the state of nature into a state of grace," &c.

He understands no better what is a contradiction and what not, than he does a *petitio principii*. To say that an infant may be regenerated by baptism, or at the time of baptism, by such graces or favours of God as I there mentioned, bestowed on him in that sacrament, but is not capable of it in any other sense of the word than as it signifies *the grace of baptism*, is nothing like a contradiction; especially when I added at that very place (what he, in reciting my words, omits) "In any other sense of the word than as it signifies *baptism*." I mean the outward act of baptism accompanied with that grace or mercy of God, whereby he admits them into covenant, though without any sense of theirs." His *Epiphonema*, 'How came Mr. Wall to be so overseen, as to say?' &c. returns on himself; and this argument alone, without fetching proofs of the meaning of the word *regenerate* from other places, sufficiently proves that it must mean *baptized* here; because none of the modern notions of the word can be applied to infants.

I have done with his objections against that sense of the word; and must take notice of an omission of his.

I there cited the sayings of several fathers, Greg. Naz., St. Hierom, St. Austin, which do exclude any conversion, repentance, &c. that is not accompanied with baptism, from being signified by the name of *Regeneration*. Such sayings as these: — “Gregory says “There is not another regeneration to be had afterward [after baptism] though it be sought with ever so much crying and tears;” — though the next words do shew there is repentance *after* baptism. St. Austin, speaking of sins after baptism, says “Such are not to be done away by regeneration; but by some other way of cure;” — and some more such.

Now, for Mr. Gale to write forty pages, as he does here, of Reflections upon a chapter of mine, which had but four and an half in all, and yet say nothing to those quotations that nailed the matter closest, is like the *notæ variarum* on some books, which explain largely all the easier passages, but let the hardest alone.

I must also needs tell him, that such ways of answering books as he takes, to fill so many pages with an answer to so few (as we are now at his 498th page, in answer to my twentieth) are what we use to account cowardly. His book goes no farther in any methodical way of answering mine, than to the two first chapters (which I own had no express mention of infant baptism) and three more. He speaks of somebody that is to write a full answer to it. If they write in his long declaiming way, the book will be unanswerable indeed, — not for the strength, but for the bulk of it; — as the Turks conquer their enemies by thrusting on so many of their men to be killed by them, as shall blunt their swords, and tire them out with killing!

P. 499, If nothing will do but infants, by the testimony of Irenæus, must be baptized, he will dispute the last inch of ground, and question who are *infants*. If *regenerate* do signify here, as it generally uses to do, the term *infant* must not. He says now, “That the whole business between us is reduced to this, To determine the period of infancy.”

We thought we had known *that*, That infants are per-

sons below the age of reason, faith, &c. ; and he will not deny that to be the ordinary meaning of the word ; but he will persuade us that Irenæus took the word in a sense by himself, to denote not only such young infants as are incapable of knowing and believing the principles of the Christian religion, "not only those of two or three months, or years," &c. ; but to comprehend such "as can know, and believe, and make profession of their faith ;" and that he may be noted for saying the most paradoxical thing that ever was said, he says "It may very well mean *only* such."

He makes an attempt to persuade us that infancy extends to fourteen years of age, — having found an odd sort of Dictionary that tells of somebody that used the word so ; but he stands to it, that it reaches to ten years.

He does not produce any author that ever used to speak so. He brings indeed some quotations concerning certain cases, where, in a general and indefinite way of speaking, the words ( $\piάντης\ \etaλικίας$ ) *omnis ætatis*, 'of all ages,' have been sometimes used by authors, where yet it is plain, by circumstances, they did not mean to include infants ; and because they were not meant there, he would have us think that Irenæus here, though mentioning expressly them among the rest that were baptized ["infants, and little children, and boys, and youths," &c.] yet did not mean *infants*, properly so called, nor that any under ten years old were baptized ; but those instances which he brings are very different ways of speaking from this. He finds Origen speaking of some who ( $ἐκ\ παιδῶν\ καὶ\ πρῶτης\ ἡλικίας$ ) 'from their childhood and first age are called to do the works,' &c. Nobody by those words would understand *infants* ; but Irenæus mentions them particularly.

He says that Irenæus, in his epistle to Florinus, mentioning the time when he heard Polycarp, calls it the time of his  $\piρῶτης\ ἡλικίας$  : that is a mistake. He does not use that word (and if he had, it had been nothing to the purpose) ; but  $παῖς\ ὡν\ ἐστίν$ , 'being but a boy ;' and afterward  $ὡς\ ἐκ\ παιδῶν\ μαθήσεται$ , 'what we learn when we are

'boys;' but that is no otherwise than every body speaks. Irenæus reckons here, under *boys*, little children; and infants under them.

In short, Mr. Gale does not bring any thing that makes the least appearance that *infantes*, in this place, should mean any otherwise than it does in ordinary speech and everywhere, except that observation which he makes at

P. 501, Which is indeed an acute one, though not solid. Irenæus, in reckoning the steps or periods of human age, happens to use five words and no more:— "Infants, little ones, children, youths, elder [or mature] men" (it is likely he would have used more, if more words had readily occurred to him at that time); which several steps of age Christ, he says, did in person go through, that he might *save* and *regenerate* all human persons of those several ages;— and following on his discourse of Christ's age, in order to confute the Valentinian heretics, who said that he lived but one year after his baptism, he argues *ab absurdo*, that if that were true, then Christ, at his baptism, being but in the beginning of his thirtieth year, would have been but full thirty when he suffered; and so would have died, being yet a young man, not arrived at a mature age; for, at the age of thirty, any one is counted but a youth, or young man; and that appellation of a *youth* continues, Irenæus says, till a man be forty. Then, after the fortieth or fiftieth year, one declines to an elderly age; which elderly age our Saviour, he says, was of when he taught, or was a teacher. The words must be set down:—

"Quia autem triginta annorum ætas primæ indolis est juvenis [i. juvenis] et extenditur usque ad quadragessimum annum, omnis quilibet confitebitur. A quadragesimo aut quinquagesimo anno declinat jam in ætatem seniores, quam habens Dominus noster docebat."

Now, Mr. Gale, because here are five periods named, and one of them, viz. that of (*juvenis*) youth, is measured by Irenæus at ten years, from thirty to forty, thinks

that he would have measured all the rest so; and consequently, the first of them, *infantes*, must have ten years allotted to it; and then his speaking of infants regenerated, will (though *regenerated* do mean *baptized*) infer no more than this, that some infants, viz. some persons that were ten years old, were baptized; which he thinks might be upon their own faith and profession; for that some children of ten years old might, by the help of an early and careful education, attain to such understanding, knowledge, and faith, as is necessary for adult baptism.

This calculation (beside that such consequences as he draws from it, would not follow from it, if it were true) has two faults:—

One, that Irenæus does not say what he makes him say. "Mr. Gale says That in "Irenæus, *juvenes* extends to between thirty and forty; — *seniores* between forty and fifty," and adds, "As he has thus assigned ten years to each of the two last stages, nothing can be more probable than that the three first were of the same length." Now, this is indeed true for one of the stages he mentions, but not of the other. *Juvenes* he does speak of, as extending from thirty to forty; but says no such thing of *seniores*, as any one will see by the words; and indeed it were absurd; for though it may properly enough be said that at forty a man loses the name of *A Young Man*, and begins to be a *senior*, it were nonsense to say that at fifty he ceases to be a *senior*; for that name will continue to him as long as he lives, though it be fifty years longer; and besides, even of that stage of *juventus* he speaks uncertainly, whether it should be extended to forty or to fifty.

Another fault of it is, That whereas Mr. Gale concludes, by parity of reason, from Irenæus assigning ten years to youth, that he would have assigned the like number to each of the other four. There is not a parity of reason in it; for one of these appellations to continue ten years, is agreeable to common apprehension, and the custom of speech; for the other to do so, is not. We, and all people, after we have begun to call

any one *A Young Man*, do continue to give him that name for about ten years. When any child is new-born, we give him for some time the name of an *Infant*; but do not continue to call him so for more than two or three years. Nobody styles a school-boy or catechumen an *infant*; or, if they do, it is counted a straining of the word.

Besides, these passages in Irenæus (that, where, he uses the five appellations aforesaid, and that, where he speaks of youth lasting ten years) are not nigh one another. He does not number five periods, and then quickly speak of the length of one of them; but, after another long discourse intervening, at the end of the chapter (when probably he had forgot how many words for the periods he had used) being got into a dispute, whether Christ died a young man or not, speaks of the limits which common use gives to the name of Youth. This last is in that part of the chapter which Mr. Gale just now would have proved to be spurious.

This exception, concerning the meaning of the word *infant*, would have been read by a hundred people, without much regard, if it had not had a casual effect upon Mr. Whiston. He is used to ancient books and the phrase of them too well, to allow any of Mr. Gale's cavils against the book, or translation, or meaning of the word *regenerate*; but this device of the division of the stages of man's life, and invention of a new set of infants, being surprizing, pretty, and arithmetical, took with him so, as that he presently, from this place, and from something in the *Constitutions*, took the hint of a new scheme of doctrine concerning baptism, neither to be administered in infancy, nor put off to adult age (as the words are ordinarily taken); but to be given between them both;—and he says of himself thus:—"This passage of Irenæus (as discoursed upon by the learned Mr. Gale) will be to me ever most remarkable, because it was the first occasion of my making the discoveries," &c. Ever is a long time. There may some other new passage or criticism happen.

For shewing the emptiness of this, when it comes to

be weighed, I must refer to what I said above in answer to Mr. Whiston, who pretended to explain the term *infants* in some other fathers, as Mr. Gale has done in Irenæus. I there made it appear, I think, how unnatural that explication is here; and utterly impossible to be fixed on the words of other fathers, where he pretends to fix it. How impossible it is likewise to suppose that children of ten years should be generally, or in any considerable number, capable of baptism on their own profession! How unreasonable it is to take the infants who, as Irenæus says, were baptized or regenerated, to mean *only* those of about ten years old (whom by this stretch of the word they will have to be so called) with an exclusion of those who are certainly meant by the word! How Irenæus does not merely name *infants*, but adds such epithets as must include the youngest infants: — “All, whom he came to save” (which particular, I see, Mr. Stokes also has observed upon this quotation, and has well enforced); and some other things which I there noted.

What I have to add is, That in reading Irenæus since, I have minded that in several places (in all where I can find the word) he takes the word *infant* in the same sense as we, and all others do; and I know no other way to be sure of the meaning of any word in any author, than to do as I did with the word *regenerate*, viz. observe how other writers of that time do use it, and how the author himself uses it at other places.

Tertullian and Origen lived at the same time with Irenæus, though he was older than either of them; and they both, though they differ from one another in resolving the question of infant baptism, yet do agree in stating of it, viz. who are meant by infants. Tertullian describes them “Such as cannot yet learn, nor know Christ, nor whither it is that they are brought, when brought to baptism.” Origen’s word is *Nuper nati parvuli* (ἀπρὲς γεννητα βρέφη) ‘new-born infants.’ They neither of them, seem to have any notion of Mr. Gale’s or Mr. Whiston’s infants. Much less can this be doubted of the following fathers.

Kenyon himself uses the word, *infants* (I mean his translator, who commonly keeps close to the very words of his author, and makes this the translation of *βρέφος*) in the case of a very young child, often; in the case of one of ten years old never, that I know of.

Lib. 1, c. 11. When there is talk of the *vagitus* of new-born children; and the Greek is *ἀπὸ γεννήσεως βρέφους*, the Latin is *infantis*.

Lib. 3, c. 18. Speaking of Christ, when forty days old, presented in the temple, he uses the word *infant*; and of the children murdered by Herod at Bethlehem, he says, "It was happy for them that they were born at that time, that he [Christ] while he was an infant, might send before into his kingdom those infants slain upon his account, as martyrs," &c.

And (c. 26) speaking of the child mentioned in Isa. vii. 16; and reciting the words:—*Butter and honey shall he eat, &c., before the child shall know to refuse evil and choose good.*—he says *Hæc signa sunt hominis infantis*. 'These are properties of a human infant.'

But above all, the place itself (as I see upon reading it over again) affords a plain token that, by *infants*, he means there such as have not yet the use of understanding; for he makes a remarkable difference between the infants and the rest, in the words which he immediately subjoins to each of the several sorts of persons there reckoned up.

After he had said of all of them in general, "Sanctifying every age by the likeness that it has to him; for he came to save all persons by himself: all, I mean, who by him are regenerated unto God,—infants, and little ones, and children [or boys] and young men, and elder men." Then he runs them all over again, particularly (save that under the name of *Parvuli*, 'Little Ones,' he includes those also whom he had called *Pueros*, Boys, or children) and says of every sort, except the infants, that they had the benefit of taking example by the behaviour that Christ had shewn in those several periods of his age. The words are,—



"Therefore, he went through the several ages; *for infants he was made an infant, sanctifying infants.*" That is all he says of them.

"*To little ones he was made a little one, sanctifying those of that age.*" — Now, here he adds, "And also giving them an *example* of godliness, justice, and dutifulness.

"*To young men he was a young man*: giving an *example* to young men, and sanctifying them to the Lord.

"*So also to seniors he was a senior*, that he might be a perfect master to all, not only by teaching the truth, but as sanctifying the seniors also according to that age; being made an *example* to them likewise."

There can be no reason why he should name the benefit of *example* to all the rest who were capable, by their age, of taking or following an example (not omitting the repetition of that word in any of their cases) and should not say any thing of that benefit, when he speaks of the infants, but this, That the persons he meant by *infants* were not capable of that lesson of imitation (as the rest were); being not yet come to the use of reason.

This Mr. Gale should have taken notice of (which appears in the place itself) if he desired to know how Irenæus took the word; and not have run to the end of the chapter to find, by the space of the continuance of youth, who are infants; especially Mr. Whiston should have examined the whole passage better, before he had changed his religion upon it.

Whereas, in this recapitulation of the ages, he makes but four of them all, which he had just before expressed in five words; — it is manifest that he had nothing in his mind of the nicety they dream of, to divide, by those five words, a man's age into five decades; but used the words, more or fewer, as they occurred to his mind; so that this ten-years infancy, as built on his words, is a groundless whimsy.

What Mr. Gale (p. 503) quotes from St. Austin, of a boy dying at seven years old; of whom his sister, a

martyr, had dreamed that she saw him carried to Heaven; and St. Austin had a question put to him, How that could be, since there was no appearance in the story that he had been baptized? (the father being a Heathen) and St. Austin's answer, That possibly the thing was not true; or if true, it was not impossible that he might have been baptized by his own choice. Mr. Gale should have either told all the story as I (from whom he had it) did, or none of it; for it is one thing for a man, when he is put to a plunge in a question concerning an odd case, to say such a thing is not impossible; and a very different thing to think it to be ordinarily practicable. Irenæus does not speak of some one infant that was baptized, but of infants indefinitely as being ordinarily regenerated [or baptized.]

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## CHAPTER XII.

I HAD desired the favour from any of my readers, that if they alighted on any passage in any author of those times, making *for* or *against* infant baptism, which I had missed, they would be so kind as to let me know it. Mr. Gale thinks he has found one, which he sends to me in print.

Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, about *anno Dom.* 190 (who probably had Christian parents, for there had been seven of his kindred bishops) says, in a letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome, "That he was now sixty-five years old in the Lord."

Mr. Gale thinks that expression "*in the Lord*," distinguishes between his natural birth and his age in the Lord."

They are distinct in the nature of the things for certain; and if Polycrates was not baptized in infancy, they must have been distinct in time by a considerable number of years; and he must have been now above eighty

in all; but if he was baptized in infancy, his years, from his natural birth and his years *in the Lord*, ran parallel.

The question then remains, How old he was now in all? — and, Whether he was baptized in infancy? — And that is the question we began at; and Mr. Gale has nothing to say to it. If he was but sixty-five in all (which is most probable) he must have been baptized in infancy.

I did consider of this bishop's case, and another, something more to the purpose than this, viz. Polycarp's, when I was writing. They seemed to me (as for what weight they have either way) to make most for infant baptism; but the arguments from them being not conclusive, I chose to omit them; but since he has proposed to consideration that which has the least weight of the two, I will mention the other.

Polycarp, constituted Bishop of Smyrna, by St. John, and who was probably that angel of that church to whom the letter of Christ, in the Apocalypse, is directed, was martyred there *anno Domini* 147, as Bishop Pearson has demonstrated the time. The proconsul offered him his life, if he “would curse [or revile] Christ.” He answered “Eighty-six years I have served him, and he never did me wrong,” &c.

Now, Mr. Gale must choose whether he will suppose him to have been fifteen or twenty years old before he entered into the service of Christ (*i. e.* before he was baptized) and so above an hundred now (which is not probable, since the history written by his people that saw him die, shews him to have had considerable strength of body at that time) or else that his service or dedication to Christ began in his infancy, *i. e.* that he was baptized then, and was now but eighty-six years old in all; whichsoever it was, it was early in the apostolic age. He must have been in that bishopric about fifty years; for St. John, who placed him there, had been dead forty-six. His Christianity, and probably his life, began twenty-seven years after our Saviour's death. If his birth was twenty years before his bap-

tism, he must now be 106 years old, and must have been born but seven years after Christ's passion.

When I came, in chap. 4, to speak of Tertullian and Origen, I gave the English reader some account of their character, That they were both very learned men, but both inclined to be singular in their opinions; and accordingly both fell into great and monstrous errors in the faith; and I instanced in the errors of each; but I said they might however be cited as witnesses of the practice of the church in their times. — Mr. Gale, at

P. 508, Tells his *Sir*, that I "begin with lessening Tertullian's reputation;" and intimates that to be an artifice of mine, because his opinion was against infant baptism.

If that *Sir* of his be a school-master, he will commend his scholar for this; for though the thing that I said be a known truth, a school-boy, in his declamation, must put the colour of false upon it, because it is his exercise and trial of skill; as a lawyer does in his pleading, because it is his trade; but is this fitting, where one seeks the truth in a matter of conscience? Is not the thing I said notoriously known to all men of reading? Was not Montanism as blasphemous an heresy as most of that time? Did not I advertise this in the case of Origen, who is *for* infant baptism, as well as of Tertullian, who would have it left off in children that were not in present danger of death?

I mentioned Tertullian's speaking inconsistently with himself; — as, at some places, if a person, not yet baptized, be ready to die, a layman must do the office of baptizing him, else he will be guilty of the person's perdition or damnation: that it is a *standing rule*, That none can be saved without baptism, grounded on that sentence of our Lord, *Except one be born of water, he has no life*; and he inveighs against some that said "Baptism was not necessary for those that have faith: faith is sufficient," &c.

At other places he advises several sorts of people to delay baptism. Infants, till they are grown up; and

then farther, till they are married; and if they do not marry, or their consort die; then farther, till the danger of lust is over; and to encourage them, says (the very thing he had condemned before) "An entire faith is secure of salvation."

Mr. Gale would salve the contradiction by supposing, that what he says of the necessity of baptism to salvation, is meant only in the case of adult persons, as many general sentences in Scripture are.

Then however, as to adult persons, such as widowers, widows, virgins, and all unmarried persons, he contradicts himself; but as to infants also, — at one place his sentence is, "What need their guiltless age make such haste to the forgiveness of sins?" In another book he determines, that all infants of Heathens are unclean; and infants of Christians are *holy*, or saints, only inasmuch as they are designed for holiness or saintship; for that the apostle, who calls them so, knew well enough what our Lord had determined, *Except any one be born of water, &c. he shall not enter, &c.* "That is (says Tertullian) he shall not be holy, or a saint;" and he concludes, "Thus every soul is reckoned as in Adam, so long till it be enrolled in Christ; and so long unclean till it be so enrolled; and sinful, because unclean." That infants, before baptism, are sinful, and yet guiltless, is a contradiction too plain.

It is in vain for Mr. Gale to recite, as he does here, several propositions expressed universally, in which yet infants are not meant; for Tertullian is here speaking of their case, particularly of the state of their birth from Adam; and applies to them, even to the seed of the faithful, that sentence of our Lord in John iii. 5. He states the case of their birth thus: Heathen mens infants are unclean by birth; Christian mens infants, though they have an advantage by birth, yet, till baptized, are not holy, or saints. This appears plainly his decision, to any one that reads the places I there produced. Some divines go a shorter way, and say They are *born* holy.

P. 510. To the argument of the Paedobaptists, that Tertullian's words, even while he brings his objections against infant baptism, do shew that it was practised by the church at that time, — Mr. Gale answers That "it at most only proves there were some persons at that time, who, among other wild notions, were about to introduce this; — not that it was the opinion of the church, or that they practised infant baptism."

Does not Tertullian plainly ask Why they did it? — Does he not mention the Godfathers? &c.

Mr. Gale says "Had it been the settled practice, &c. it cannot be imagined that Tertullian should venture to oppose it."

Why not? Why might he not have the confidence and self-opinion that Mr. Gale has now, when it is undoubtedly the settled practice? He knows well enough (though he would conceal it from any ignorant reader) that *that* is Tertullian's character among all men, to oppose his singular opinions to the practice and tenets of the church of his time. He never saw an edition of his works without a large catalogue of his *paradoxa*. If there had been any church in Tertullian's time (especially at or near Carthage, where he lived) that had not practised infant baptism, St. Cyprian and his fellow-bishops, who, fifty years after, being assembled at that place, had a question put to them concerning the baptizing of a child before the eighth day, would have had some among them (one at least of the sixty-six) that would have remembered it; and would have been less positive that it must, if in danger of death, be baptized before the eighth day; and that the salvation of the child did depend upon it. Some of these bishops must have lived there in Tertullian's time, which was but fifty years before; but St. Cyprian says There was not one of the sixty-six but what held the baptism of it necessary; by which we may be sure that the contrary tenet was Tertullian's singular opinion.

St. Austin also was a bishop in the same province. He had not heard of Tertullian's opinion (for he says

then belonging to the infants when born, but designed for them. Having cited this place, as saying that of either parent *sanctified* [or Christian] the children that are born are (*sancti*) saints [or holy] he corrects himself, and says the apostle there, by his word (*sancti*) saints, would have us understand (*sanctitati designati*) *designed* by their parents for *saintship*; and I said his words here do shew that he means "When they come to be baptized."

Mr. Gale here answers, "I don't see Tertullian gives any intimation that he understood this passage to relate to baptism at all."

I suppose he thought the reader might want one instance more of the laudable faculty he has of manfully denying things that are before his face. Tertullian having said that, by (*sancti*) *holy*, in that text, must be meant *sanctitati designati*, gives for his reason, that the apostle (*meminerat Dominica definitionis, &c.*) 'knew well enough what our Lord had determined:—*Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he shall not enter, &c.* ; that is, says Tertullian (*non erit sanctus*) 'he shall not be holy.' This is what our author could not see; or else he must deny (as Calvin did) John iii. 5, to relate to baptism at all; which the Antipædobaptists have not yet been so absurd as to do; and Mr. Gale himself does often speak of it, as meaning baptism.

P. 514. Whereas I had, at another place of my book (viz. chap. 11) recited a great part of Gregory Nazianzen's Oration *de Baptismo* (where he frequently uses the word *sanctification* for *baptism*, and *sanctified* for *baptized*) and had observed that he does the like in other orations; and that the ancients generally (both those before Nazianzen, of whom I cited there Cyprian, and here Tertullian; and those in and after his time,—St. Austin, St. Hierom, Paulinus, Pelagius, &c.) do so use the word; and had shewn that, in several places of Scripture, it is so taken; and had referred to Mr. Walker, who has filled a good part of a book with such quotations, and indeed they would fill a volume; so that it

is no wonder that the ancient exposition of 1 Cor. vii. 14, should render *has been sanctified*, by *has been brought to Christianity and baptism*; and *holy* by *Christian and baptized*, since it was their common phrase in all their writings, speeches, and sermons.

Mr. Gale answers, first, That I produce none of the first 300 years, who do so explain that text, 1 Cor. vii. 14.

I produced Tertullian, *anno Domini* 200; and St. Cyprian, *anno* 250. The one confessing the sense of that text to be, that children of Christians are not born actual (*Sancti*) *Christians*; nor can be called actually so till baptized; — the other saying directly that an infant is in baptism *sanctified*, or made a saint, or Christian; and to them that take the words so, the text explains itself. Read it so far right, and you cannot read the rest wrong. Besides, that the current interpretation of the times a little after confirms that sense in the former.

He says again, The word *sanctify*, in the Old Testament, does often signify other things beside *washing*; which I grant, and did there give St. Austin's distinction between the visible sanctification and the invisible; but he cannot deny that, in the places I mentioned, and abundance more, it does signify *washing*; nor that in the New Testament, the word ἁγιοί, when it is applied to persons (as it is in this text) means *saints*, i. e. Christians; and (ἡγιασμένοι) 'those that have been sanctified,' means such as have been entered into the Christian covenant or religion, by baptism, — generally, and almost without exception.

That expression of the apostle, *The unbelieving* [or an unbelieving] *husband has been sanctified by his wife*, which I, after the antients, do paraphrase, "Has been converted, brought to the faith, and so to baptism (and so saved, as the following words are) — he says Why may it not be read "Has been prevailed on to forsake his former vices and irregular courses of life, and so saved?"



He does not care how palpably he perverts the scope and aim of the apostle's discourse. Do not the very words of the text lay the stress of the change from *unbelieving* [or Heathen] to *believing* [or Christian]? — and does not a Christian wife *save* her husband, by bringing him off from Infidelity to Christianity?

The *Quære* put by the Corinthians to St. Paul, was not Whether a godly wife should separate from a husband of ill morals? — but, Whether a Christian wife should go away from an Heathen husband? — for a wife, by her persuasions to reduce a husband, Heathen or Christian, from his irregular courses to sobriety, is a good thing; but it is not the thing spoken of in this text.

Here he cites a place where Origen mentions this case of a woman converting her husband, or *e contra*; but he betrays a shameful degree of partiality, or else of ignorance, in translating it; and in saying, "It is thus: Origen seems to understand it." *Thus*; that is (as Mr. Gale had, in the preceding paragraph, explained it) the believing wife *sanctifies* and *saves* her husband (not by making him a Christian, but) by "prevailing on him to forsake his former vices and irregularities."

Whoever views the place in Origen, or reads but so much of it as Mr. Gale himself has transcribed of the Greek, will see a notable pattern of warping; for the sense is as directly contrary to his *thus*, as one thing can be to another.

I thank him for finding it for me; for here Origen (who is another within the 300th year) paraphrases this text of St. Paul exactly to the same sense: as I shewed St. Austin and Pelagius, &c. to have done, and keeps the emphasis which most of the modern translations and expositions have lost. I will transcribe it here; for a quotation that translates this text right, is as much to the purpose as one that expressly speaks of infant baptism. The occasion and context of the words may more fitly be set down there; but the words are (*Comment. in Matth. p. 332*)

Ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐσφατέρουν ἀπίστων, ὅτε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ πρότερον πιστεύσας τῇ χεῖρι, σώζει τὴν γυναῖκα· ὅτε δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἀρξαμένη ὑστεροῦν ποτε πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα. 'Of a husband and wife, both unbelievers, sometimes the husband believing first in time, saves his wife; and sometimes the wife believing first, does afterward persuade her husband.' Mr. Gale translates it, 'When the husband believes first, he sometimes saves his wife; and when the wife believes first, she persuades her husband.' He leaves out the first words, Ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, ἀμφότερων ἀπίστων, 'When a husband and a wife are both unbelievers,' which regulate the sense of the following words, and plainly shew the conversions spoken of in them to be from unbelief to Christianity. This I do not call ignorance, but something worse. In the remaining words (which himself sets down), that he should not understand that ὅτε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ, and ὅτε δὲ ἡ γυνή, should have been rendered, sometimes *the husband*, and sometimes *the wife*, looks very like ignorance. In the former clause he (though he had the Greek before him, and wrote it down) follows the Latin, where some printer or compositor has transposed the words (for Huetius was not capable of such blunders) and instead of *aliquando vir qui prior credidit, uxorem servat*, has printed *vir qui prior credidit, uxorem aliquando servat*; but in the latter clause, where the *aliquando* is set right [*aliquando autem initium faciens uxor, &c.*] he has followed neither the Greek nor the Latin.

Origin, we see here, understands St. Paul's words, (of an unbelieving husband being *sanatified* and *saved* by his wife, and of an unbelieving wife *sanctified* and *saved* by her husband) to be meant, of the one being converted from unbelief, being made a Christian [or as St. Paul's common word is, *a saint*] by the means of the other; which, added to what I and others have cited from other fathers, confirms this to be the current interpretation given to this place by the ancients.

He does not here go on to the following words, "Else were your children unclean, but now they are saints"

[or holy] as not being pertinent to the matter he was discoursing of; but he that went so far as to paraphrase *ἡγιασται* in the former part of the verse, has been made *ἅγιος*, a saint, a Christian, could not miss of translating the last words *ἐπεὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκαθάρτα ἐστί*, 'else would your children be unclean,' i. e. kept in the Heathen state, unbaptized, *νῦν δὲ ἅγιοι ἐστί*. But now they are saints, i. e. Christians, which can be meant no other-wise than by being baptized into Christ.

I have endeavoured to make this sense of that text plain in a little piece which I believe Mr. Gale has seen; but he who had so openly accused me of giving up all proof from Scripture, could not, with any credit own the sight of it; and, indeed, shames himself by letting his reader see by one attack before, and this a second one, upon my argument from this text, that I had not omitted all the proofs from Scripture.

He says at last, That Dr. Whitby and Bishop Burnet are very accurate in proving that the words *Now are your children holy*, do speak only of seminal holiness.

Yet, as much as he worships these two men, he says in his Contents, Their sense cannot be the true one; and he tells them their argument for infant baptism from seminal holiness, is a *petitio principii*; by which I should guess that they have said something beyond his reach; for that is the common name that he gives to all arguments that he cannot answer.

I remember something of that sort of argument from seminal holiness; but, as I never used it, it is not my present business to defend it. Let those that will, derive their childrens' saintship from their own. I question whether it be a rule in the heavenly city (as it is in some cities here) that a man may claim his freedom by his father's copy. A parent that has an infant child like to die, may, if he please, say to God "Thou wilt save this child because he is mine, and derived from me." I had rather have it to say, "Because he is Christ's, dedicated to him, and cannot be saved but for his sake."

If this doctrine be true, David had ill luck in his conception and birth, to be *shapen in iniquity*; and that

*in sin did his mother conceive him*; when these fathers can beget their children in seminal holiness, and their mothers conceive them in saintship. Yet I do not dislike that sentence of Mr. Baxter, where (as I cited him) speaking of a child dying before actual baptism, he says, "Believing that our heart-consent and dedication qualifies Infants for a covenant-right before actual baptism." A devout dedication of a child to Christ, to be received into his covenant of forgiveness and regeneration, joined with a sincere purpose of sealing this by baptism, may, we hope (though the child be suddenly snatched away) be accepted by God for the deed.

P. 516. He would retrieve the credit of that exploded interpretation of this text given by some Antipædobaptists, *sanctified by the wife*; that is, says he, *to the wife*, meaning for the use of the bed; so as that he, though an unbeliever, is not an adulterer to her, nor she an harlot to him; and the children are holy, *i. e.* not bastards; and he is so void of shame as to say twice in one page, that this explication is built on my principles.

My principle is, that St. Paul by the word *ἅγιοι*, *saints*, or *holy*, when applied to persons, does always mean *Christians*; and by *ἡγιασται*, and *ἡγιασμένοι*, does always mean such as have been made, or are become *Christians*; and that he never styled an unbeliever a *saint*, or *sanctified*. Mr. Gale's exposition would have St. Paul to mean that the unbelieving wife or husband, continuing such, is sanctified; but St. Paul explains *ἡγιασται*, in the fourteenth verse, by *saved*, in the sixteenth. Does Mr. Gale think that *saved* means nothing but *allowed the use of the bed*?

The query put by the Corinthians to St. Paul was not Whether it were fornication for two such parties to cohabit, so that the children would be bastards; nor does St. Paul answer it as he would do a question of lawful or unlawful; but only of expedient or inexpedient. If the question had been whether it was a sin or not, he would never have said, "To this question I speak, not the Lord!" nor would have advised the Christian husband to cohabit with the unbelieving wife,

if she be willing to dwell with him. The woman's willingness to stay would not, if the question had been about fornication, have mended the matter.

Let Mr. Gale try how this bed-sanctification will fit Origen's paraphrase which he just now commended; which was, that sometimes the unbelieving wife is sanctified, saved, or persuaded by her husband, a believer; and sometimes the unbelieving husband by the wife, a believer; that is, we will say, sometimes the man is sanctified to his wife's bed, and sometimes she to his. Nonsense; — whereas to say, Sometimes an unbelieving husband is brought to Christianity by his wife, and sometimes the wife by the husband, and, then by the consent of both, the children are made holy, or saints, *i. e.* Christians by baptism, is good sense, and a good reason why St. Paul should advise them to continue together.

In short, not only this explication of the Antipædo-baptists, but all the modern ones that forsake the ancient interpretation, have this fatal absurdity, that they make St. Paul speak of the man, or the woman, and the children, as sanctified, or saints, without Christianity; which he never did, nor would have done.

P. 317. Mr. Gale asks what can this holiness of the children be that springs from the Christianity of the parents? The baptism of the parents cannot serve for the children. True; — but the Christianity of the parents may make them baptize their children; and then they are, in St. Paul's sense, *ἁγιοι*, holy, saints, or Christians.

P. 519. The passages which I produced from Origen do, as Mr. Gale confesses, speak directly and clearly of infant baptism. They speak of it as a known principle of Christians, and ordered by the apostles; and whereas Mr. Whiston, having before his eyes the places themselves, has ventured to say, and to print, that it is not plain from them that the infants he speaks of were such as we commonly call so, but that his words may be understood of lads big enough to make catechumens; he could not have more shamed his eye-sight; and it ought

to be a warning to him not to print any thing in such haste; for the words are *nuper nati parvuli*; and What sin could they have?

Mr. Gale's only exception is of the authenticity of the passages, of which I had spoken largely, which the reader must see, if he would understand the dispute between us.

He wonders that all the passages about infant baptism should be in Latin translations, and none in the Greek remains; which are, he says, larger than of any Greek father before him.

The thing was no wonder if it was so, since he having written above twenty times as much as any Greek father before him, the Greek remains, though larger than of those before him, are yet not the twentieth part of what were extant in St. Hierom's time; who, as I shewed, had read in the Greek his sentiments of infant baptism.

One passage which Sir Peter (now Lord Chief Justice) King brought from the Greek, and I from him, Mr. Gale in many words labours to prove to be nothing to the purpose, as speaking only of new converts compared to infants; neither did I, nor do I, positively maintain the contrary. I was the first that shewed the doubtfulness of the phrase; but whereas he puts into my mouth those rude expressions and reflections on that great man, of artful leaving out of words, &c. let him take them to himself, they are his natural talent; I said no such thing, but only acknowledged that *that* sentence, by being compared with the following ones, is rendered ambiguous.

I have since found a passage in the Greek, viz. *Comment. in Matt. tom. 15*, which speaks manifestly of infants in the proper sense (for, to satisfy Mr. Whiston and Mr. Gale, it names those of one day old) and, I think, shews plainly Origen's sentiments of the necessity of their baptism. I shall not transcribe it here; it makes all my answer to the exceptions he here brings against the places in the translations needless; but as I had drawn

up the substance of my answer to those his exceptions before I found that passage; and as it is the last trouble I shall have with him, I will not grudge the pains of transcribing that also, that both together may give the fuller satisfaction.

P. 521. Mr. Gale, not content with what I had owned, that Rufinus (out of whose translations several of the passages which I brought were fetched) took a great liberty in translating, sometimes abridging, paraphrasing, &c. sometimes omitting, or altering a place where Origen had vented any of his singular and heterodox opinions, thinks it worth his while to get together and recite, not only all the censures of Rufinus's translation that he could find in Huetius, Daille, Du Pin, Tarinus, &c. but any thing that tends to discredit the translations of the fathers in general. They have, he says, a very bad name; and where Grotius says "Some pieces ascribed to Origen are not his, and some interpolated," Mr. Gale, turning the word *some* into a *great deal*, would have us believe none.

One that had not read the works of these modern learned men, which he here cites, would think by this account that they had a much worse opinion of Rufinus's translations than they really had: they, notwithstanding the fault they find with his paraphrastical way, do upon many occasions quote his translations and depend upon them, as being Origen's sense in the main; and Mr. Gale himself, in the chapter before (viz. p. 472, when he sought for evidence against Irenæus) thought the *Tractat. in Matt.* (which is a translation of Origen, of far less credit than Rufinus's are) a good authority.

Huetius, who knew best of any one what credit was due to each translation, though he give the preference by far to those done by St. Hierom, yet he more than 100 times recurs to those done by Rufinus, either to confirm or to explain the sense of some place in the Greek tracts on which he is making notes; and particularly when he is vindicating Origen against Janse-  
nius, bishop of Ypres (who accused him of a thing he

was not guilty of, viz. the denial of original sin) he does it by one of the same quotations, which I brought for proof of his holding infant baptism; for Origen speaks there, and at other places, of both those points together.

I said, whatever Rufinus might add of his own in his translations, he would not add any of this sort of sayings which express an acknowledgement of original sin, because he himself was inclined to the contrary opinion, as I have shewed plain enough, and Huetius more largely.

Of this Mr. Gale takes no notice; and he does wisely; for it renders all that suspicion which he would raise, of Rufinus's inserting these passages of his own head, utterly incredible.

Mr. Whiston, though he be engaged on the same side of the dispute with Mr. Gale, and had seen his objections, confesses (p. 40, of his *Primitive Infant Baptism*) "I think we may allow them in the main to be genuine;" and the worthy Dr. Grabe declared to me, that he had met with so many fragments of those lost pieces of Origen, quoted by Greek writers, or in the *Catenas*, as do manifestly shew the Latin of Rufinus to have been taken from them, though after a more loose and paraphrastical manner than is usual in a translator.

If there were found in these translations but one, or but two places, and those in Rufinus alone, that did speak of infant baptism, there might have been some reason for this suspicion; but when they are found in several places, brought in on several occasions, in translations made by several men who were of several parties, and enemies to one another (as Rufinus and St. Hierom were) and upon no temptation (for Mr. Gale himself will own that there was no dispute then about infant baptism) to say that they be all forged, is a thing that will sink with no man that considers and weighs the reasonableness of any plea; and thus to except sometimes against the book, as in Irenæus; and some-



times against the translations, as here, is in effect to say that he will not stand to the voice of Antiquity.

Of the passages cited, one is from the *Homilies on St. Luke*, translated by St. Hierom; which speaks to the same purpose as the rest. Mr. Gale, having no other escape, fights his way through, and pelts St. Hierom with reproaches for a translation as bad as Rufinus.

I had from Erasmus quoted St. Hierom's own words, that in that translation of the *Homilies on St. Luke*, he had "changed nothing, but expressed every thing as it was in the original." Here Mr. Gale,

P. 524, Sends his *Sir* to "compare the translations with the originals;" and tells him what he shall find there.

He is either so very ignorant as to think, or else would have the ignorant reader think, those *Homilies on St. Luke* are extant in the original (for of those he must be understood to speak, or else it is no answer to what I said); and that he had compared them. If they had been at all extant in the Greek, I must have been very dull to cite them in the Latin. Such homilies as are extant both in the original, and in St. Hierom's Latin (as for instance, some on Jeremiah) answer so well to one another, that Huetius sets no other Latin over against the Greek than St. Hierom's; and where the Greek copies have some words vitiated so as to mar the sense, he very often corrects them in his notes by the Latin. The Latin shews what the Greek must have been; and Huetius, who says the Latin does in many places recede from the Greek, imputes that to the variation of the Greek copies since St. Hierom's time; and Bishop Pearson, in his *Vindice Ignat.* concludes that St. Hierom must have been very exact in the translation of the *Homilies on Luke* by this, that Rufinus, who had the original, and out of envy sought to find what faults he could in the translation, mentions no interpolation but one of two words [*atque naturæ*]; which shows he could find no more.

Mr. Gale says St. Hierom, in translating Eusebius's *Chronicon* and *de Locis Hebraicis*, owns that he altered some of the chronology and geography.

That is quite another case. The skill in chronology improved by degrees; and for the geography of the Holy Land, St. Hierom, living on the spot many years after Eusebius was dead, might naturally come to know the names and circumstances of many cities and places there, which Eusebius had omitted or mistaken; and any one that is able, does well to correct mistakes in those matters, especially when he owns the alterations that he makes; but, in matters of religion, any thing that is new is faulty for being so; and the perfection of it is, to keep close to the primitive patterns.

But Mr. Gale cites some sayings of St. Hierom, where he confesses that, in the translation of some books, even of Origen, he had omitted what was bad or erroneous, and kept in only what was sound and useful.

But, first, That is not adding any thing; and, 2dly, There are two different aims in translating; and he at several times had both of them, viz. either to satisfy the curious what it was that Origen held (and in such cases, he sets down all, sound or unsound); or to publish some tract or discourse of Origen for the use of vulgar Christians; in which, if there were many useful things, and sound tenets, he did well to omit the latter; and this Mr. Gale should not call St. Hierom's Confession that he did so. He *pleads* it in his own vindication against those that accused him of disseminating Origen's errors; but even this is not adding any thing; and besides, in the *Homilies on St. Luke* (which is the only book I quoted) he declares he took the former course.

Mr. Gale cites Mr. Du Pin (vol. 3, p. 132) where, after he had given instances of Rufinus's licentious way of translating some pieces, he adds, "St. Hierom's versions are not more exact;" and there Mr. Gale cuts off the sentence; and makes much use afterward of this verdict of Mr. Du Pin against St. Hierom. Whether he do say just so, and do not add any expressions in

statement of what he had said, I know not. A reader that has Du Pin by him may do well to see; but it is certain, the expression taken strictly is not true. St. Hierom may, in some books, have made some paraphrastical alterations or omissions (though none, he says himself, on St. Luke); but not nigh so many as Rufinus.

Mr. Gale tells us over and over again, that these translators "do confess and own the alterations" they have made, and warn the readers of them.

There is then the more credit to be given them, when they say they have altered nothing. They do, in some books of Origen, own that they have left out many things that were unsound, and abridged some books that were too long (as Origen's style was indeed redundant); but there is no sign of their adding any thing of their own (except in those books where they declare they have supplied some particular chapters that were missing): I mean not any thing. Transitions they must make for the gaps where they left out any large passage; but this is nothing to the *Homilies on St. Luke*, in which St. Hierom says he altered nothing.

Of the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (out of which one of the passages concerning infant baptism is taken) there are two fragments preserved in the Greek, viz. *Philocal.* c. 9, and c. 25. Mr. Gale tells us twice over, that of that in c. 25, there are, in Rufinus's version, hardly any footsteps of the original preserved.

Suppose they had been both wanting in Rufinus, — what wonder! — since, as I said, he professes that he had shortened that work by one half. All that can be argued from hence is, that as there is in that half which he has preserved, one place that mentions infant baptism, probably in the whole there were two.

And just such an advantage accrues to his argument from that which he quotes,

P. 526, Of Rufinus complaining that several volumes or tomes of this Comment were wanting, before he took

it in hand: *fere apud omnium bibliothecas* (which he in translating augments to all libraries.)

This argument weighs backward; therefore, he to make it turn the right way, does, in the next page, call this deficiency an *interpolation*; which is quite the contrary.

Those two sentences of Rufinus, which Mr. Gale here recites out of the *Peroratio* of his translation of Origen, on *Epist. ad Romanos*, were not meant by him for any serious account of what he had done in that work; but for a jeer on St. Hierom, who had set out tracts in his own name, whereof all the substance was (as Rufinus would insinuate) taken out of Origen; — so that Rufinus pretended he might as well have called this translation *Rufini Expositio*, &c. as St. Hierom had entitled some works of his *Hieronymi Libri*, &c. which were little more than translations of Origen; but, he says, he would not get himself a reputation by such tricks of a plagiary.

Though this appears by the sentence itself, and by his putting the name *Hieronymi* into it, though Huetius (out of whom, I question not, Mr. Gale had it) do note the drift it, yet he, like a true representer of things, sets down the sentences, but leaves out the note.

P. 527. Whereas one of the passages I cited was from Origen's *Homilies on Joshua* ["Thou wast an infant, when thou wast baptized"] concerning the translation whereof I produced Rufinus's declaration, that he had in that translation neither added nor omitted any thing; but truly rendered what he found in the Greek books; Mr. Gale would here prove Rufinus a liar; because, in one part of a chapter (not that which I cited, but another) there is found the difference of a few words between Rufinus's translation and a quotation of that part in the *Philocalia*.

But, first, The difference is of no moment; — and, secondly, There is no knowing by the *Philocalia* how the original was.

For their way when they entitle a chapter, as taken out of such or such a tome, is, after they have recited

something out of that tome, to run to another tome where there is any thing to the same purpose, and then go back to where they left off; and this commonly, several times in one chapter; as appears in all the *excerpta* which they have taken out of the books against Celsus; and would, no doubt, appear in the other, if the original of the other were extant, as it is of them.

Mr. Gale gives instances of some chapters in the *Philocalia*, which are there said to be transcribed from such or such a homily of Origen's, on such or such a book of Scripture, whereof one shall not find any foot-step in Rufinus's Latin.

Huetius will tell him the reason of this. Origen composed several sets of sermons or homilies on the same book or epistle. One, perhaps, when he was young; another volume of sermons on the same epistles, when he was old. St. Gregory and St. Basil sometimes lighted on one of these volumes; Rufinus on another. *Vide Huetii Præfat. in Origeniana*, p. 4.

They that can think that these passages concerning infant baptism, in the translations of Origen's works, were put in by the translators who lived but 150 years after Origen's time, and yet do maintain that in Origen's time there was no infant baptism, do make them more absurd men than we can conceive them to have been; for the practice of the church could not have been changed from Antipædobaptism to Pædobaptism in that space of time, but that such learned men, as St. Hierom especially was, must have known it. Eusebius's *Church History*, written in the intermediate time, and translated by Rufinus, must have taken notice of it; or the very tradition from father to son must have carried a memory of it; and then, for them to make Origen several times over speak of a thing which all the world knew was not in use at his time, must have made them ridiculous.

Mr. Gale observes twice or thrice, how dipping of infants in the ordinary baptisms in England, began about 200 years ago to degenerate into pouring or sprinkling. It is true it did so; but every body knows it, and the time of it; and, therefore, he that should, in translat-

ing a book written before that time, put in any thing of sprinkling as used ordinarily in England in the author's time, would be hooted at. The like would have been in the case of these men. If Rufinus had first fallen into such a blunder, he would not have escaped the lash of St. Hierom ; — nor, if St. Hierom had been guilty, would Rufinus have spared him ; but the contrary is true ; for not only both of them do translate Origen so, speaking of infant baptism as being ordered by the apostles ; but all of that time, St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, &c. that do speak any thing of it, speak of it as practised not only in Origen's time, but from the beginning.

If Mr. Gale had been a candid inquirer after the truth in this question, concerning Origen's holding or not holding the doctrine of infant baptism, he would have taken notice of a passage in St. Hierom, who, being the greatest reader of Origen's works in the original, of any Christian that ever was, brings in, in his discourse of him, such circumstances as do plainly shew, not only that he held it, but also built some of his particular tenets upon it.

And since his works (which were more than all the *Bibliotheca Patrum* that we have now) are lost (the Greek of almost all the translations of the greatest part) suppose we could not be sure of the authenticity of this or that passage in the translations, nor find any passage in the remaining Greek to that purpose ; yet these two things concurring together, that there are several plain places in the translations, and a plain testimony from one that had seen the originals, that this doctrine was held by him, and was then visible in his books, would convince any body, except it be one that has a task set him to maintain the negative, and maintain it he must.

The passage in St. Hierom which I mean, was in my first edition, not set down in this fifth chapter which is concerning Origen, and which Mr. Gale is here answering ; but it was in the nineteenth chapter (which speaks of St. Hierom and the Pelagians) ; and, in the second

edition, I put a note of it into the fifth; because it clears up the doubt concerning Origen's holding infant baptism. Mr. Gale, I doubt not, had seen both.

It is St. Hierom's jeering advice to the Pelagians; who were put to it how to give any good account of the reason of baptizing infants, since they would not own that they had any original sin or corruption. He, in a mocking way, advises them to march over to Origen's opinion: — *Qui praterita in calis et antiqua delicta solvi dicit in baptismo.* 'Who holds that their sins committed in a former state [the state of pre-existence] in the celestial regions, are forgiven them in their baptism.'

This is a plain proof that Origen did use to speak of infant baptism; and that St. Hierom had seen the places where he did so; and that the doctrine of baptizing infants was current in his time, since he endeavoured to link his tenet of pre-existence to it.

But we have found, as I said, in the original text of Origen, a passage which will, I think, clear up any difficulty that remains, and stop the mouth of all objections or evasions concerning the sense and practice of the church in his time, which was about *anno Domini* 210; after the apostles 110. The passage is so much to the same sense and purpose with those translated by St. Hierom and Rufinus, the style and phrase so much the same, the same texts of Scripture quoted, &c. that it is not only itself an evidence, but also confirms those other to be genuine translations.

My next chapter was quotations out of St. Cyprian, who flourished 150 years after the apostles. Him, and his time, and all that comes after, Mr. Gale yields as practising infant baptism; so that I wonder what work he means the man, who he says, is to write an answer to my book, shall have; for he himself has in these *Reflections* answered the first five chapters, to p. 43; and that, if we believe him himself, sufficiently; but, if the other men be to answer all the rest, Mr. Gale has done ill to yield it all before-hand. What is the consequence of this concession we will consider presently; but he

throws in some disparagements of the men and times which he yields up.

P. 528. First, St. Cyprian speaks as plainly of infant communion as he does of infant baptism.

Concerning this matter I have spoken three or four times in this Answer; and also had shewed largely in my book, that there is no proof of mere infants (but only of children of four or five years old) being admitted to the communion in St. Cyprian's time; and that, except that time and place, there is no account (at least, that I know of. I do there refer myself to such as had studied that point more; *no account*, I say) before the year 400, of children being admitted at all in any church; — of which, since he will take no notice, I shall not repeat the same answer to all his *crambos*; but add this general reply: —

That this is at best but an argument *ad hominem*. It is a question in the present Christian church, Whether giving the communion to infants be an error or a duty? The present *western* Christians think it an error; — the Greek Church, which is, I think the biggest half of Christendom, think it a duty. To these last, an argument against infant baptism, drawn from the practice of those times, which gave the communion as well as baptism to infants, weighs backward, and confirms the thing which it would overthrow. To us and all Christians hereabouts, it weighs but very little. It proves only that those churches and those times which did so, were, in our opinion, in an error in one thing. Does that overthrow the force of an argument taken from their doctrine and practice in other things? It is not, in the opinion of any Christian, a fundamental error. If Providence should place any of us in Muscovy, or any country of the Greek Christians where this custom is used, we should not do as Mr. Gale and *another* would have the Antipædobaptists and other Dissenters do here, renounce their communion, unless we had some greater reason than that. There is no good argument to prove any thing, which does not prove it to one Christian as well as to another.



Secondly, St. Cyprian, he says, was an African; and so were the sixty-six bishops, whose testimony is joined with his; so that, probably, infant baptism began in the Church of Carthage.

Does Mr. Gale take his readers for such idiots, as to think a testimony is disparaged because he can tell where the people that give it lived? So Origen lived at Alexandria; and Mr. Whiston thinks it began there; and Irenæus at Lyons, in Gallia. By that account it began there. Those Christians, whose children, St. Paul says, were saints, lived at Corinth; and the places where he is mentioned to have baptized the whole households, were all in Greece. Some, perhaps, will think it began there; but our Saviour, who commanded *little children to be received in his name*, was, according to the flesh, a Jew; so that the Christian baptism began there. Antipædobaptism began among the Alps, or in Germany. Will that be taken for a refutation of it?

Thirdly, The Africans were “generally men of weak understandings;” — and St. Austin, another African, thought it an apostolical tradition.

St. Austin concludes partly from proofs of Scripture, — partly because it had been ever used from the beginning by all Christians that it was *Apostolica auctoritate traditum*, ‘ordered [or delivered down] by the authority of the Apostles.’ Is there any thing in this whereon to ground a note of contempt upon St. Austin? Does not Origen say the very same in the places we were last speaking of? Can the Antipædobaptists account it decent in their champion to insult, as absurd, sometimes the present divines, sometimes the ancient Christians, for saying that which all Christians in the world say, and ever said, except themselves.

For a parting blow, he has preserved a testimony against infant baptism, which ought, in policy, to have been one of his best. He says “Though the African bishops were no wiser, &c. the Greek Church seem very plainly to have been still of another opinion.”

Here one would expect something that, according to his promise, should seem very plain: it is this at last,

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, writing a letter concerning the character of Novatian (whom he makes a monster of impiety) says of him, after a great many worse things, that he did (*ἀθετεῖν ἅγιον λυστόν*) 'make void 'holy baptism' (which words Mr. Gale translating, adds a crime that he was never accused of, making him a Quaker: "he utterly disallows holy baptism"); and (*τὴν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἀνατρέψαν*) 'subvert 'the faith and profession that goes before it.' Here Mr. Gale sets his thumb. Dionysius speaks of the profession of faith *going before* baptism.

Now, this is a known thing, that a profession of faith was usual before baptism (I, after others, had spoken largely of it) in the case of persons baptized at full age (as Novatian was) made by themselves as the faith they then actually had; in the case of infants made by their sponsors, as he might see in Tertullian (for there were then no Presbyterian baptisms without sponsors) as the faith into which the infant was baptized, and in which he was to be instructed, and which he must hereafter hold and keep, if he expected any benefit by his baptism.

This was abundantly enough to make Dionysius say what he did; and is no more than any one would now say concerning such a case, that a Christian, turning to wickedness or apostacy, renounces his baptism, and the profession of faith that went before it. This might well enough be said even of one that was baptized in infancy, in respect to the profession made in his name by sponsors at his baptism; but Dionysius was now speaking of a man who was known to have been baptized at age. He represents him as one who, having been an infidel and a very wicked man before, and then, in a fear of death, desiring to be baptized; and in order thereto making the professions, and being baptized in his bed of sickness, had afterward been as bad as ever before: that was "frustrating holy baptism, and perverting the faith and profession made before it."

This is all that Mr. Gale has to prove that the Greek Church were of another opinion than St. Cyprian and his dull Africans.

His clients must needs think this but a very indifferent plea to close their cause with; but he, to excuse himself, and put them out of hopes of any better from any other pleader, plainly tells them, they must not expect to find any passages more inconsistent with that practice [the practice of infant baptism] than this is."

I do not love boasting to the degree that he does; yet this, I think, I may say that I, though their adversary as he would represent me, produced several passages more plausible for Antipædobaptism than this, or indeed than any he has brought; and those such as had never been made use of, in that dispute before. I produced impartially all that I found.

As for Dionysius, there is a particular reason to satisfy us that neither he and his Church of Alexandria, nor the Church of Rome, nor that of Cappadocia, did take the doctrine and practice of infant baptism to be any error in St. Cyprian and his Church of Carthage; for all these (and indeed all the noted churches in Christendom) were engaged at that time in a question and dispute about baptism, — not in any question Whether infants are to be baptized? (of that, as I have often said, there was never any question made by any church, nor by any man, except Tertullian, for a thousand years); but in a question Whether baptism, received from the hands of heretics or schismatics, was valid, or not? — Cyprian, of Carthage, Firmilian, of Cappadocia, and many other bishops and churches said it was not; but that men baptized by heretics must, if they would be admitted in the church, be baptized anew; and they practised accordingly. Stephen, Bishop of Rome, and some with him, maintained the contrary. The contention increased to a great height, and lasted a long time. Councils were held on each side in Europe, and Asia, as well as in Africa; — many messages and letters sent. Stephen carried it so high, as to renounce, in great measure, communion with Cyprian, Firmilian, &c. This Dionysius, of Alexandria (whom Mr. Gale here would make an Antipædobaptist) acted the part of

a mediator, and wrote pacificatory letters, whereof good parts are preserved by Eusebius.

Now, I say, if the practice of baptizing infants, which is known to have been then used by the churches of Africa, had been at that time, by any of the other, accounted an error, it could not have missed of being censured, or taken notice of, in the dispute. When they were inveighing each against the other's mistakes, about the nature and use of baptism, Stephen, who reproached Cyprian for an abuse of baptism in one respect, viz. for giving it to men who had already a baptism, which Stephen thought (though received in a blamable way, yet) valid, would not have failed to have censured the abuse of it in this other respect, if he had thought the giving it to infants to be an abuse; but so it is, that in the whole dispute there is not one word said about it: a certain sign that there was no difference in their tenets and usages in that particular; — so that the proof of the African Church using it, and the silence of the rest, is a proof for all of them that they used it, and for Dionysius and his church among the rest.

P. 530. Here he enters on the recapitulation or summing up of what he has done: — of the arguments he has used, — of the texts of Scripture he has explained or cited; with which he has done as he has with his Table of Authors; for as in the one he has given you the name and edition of every Dictionary or school-book, — so, in the other, if he has mentioned, or occasionally referred or alluded to any text, he puts that text down in the Index to fill up the number.

I shall not follow him in the recapitulation; but leave him and his *Sir* (to whom he ever and anon addresses, “You see, Sir”) to applaud and crow over their *egregia facinora et res præclare gestas*, as knowing that whatever I may do with his arguments, I can never stop or quell his humour of boasting.

Instead of that, I crave leave to address myself in a few words to the Antipædobaptists, and in a few to my brethren of the clergy.

! The first, If they cannot from the evidence, and the pleas *pro* and *contra*, determine their opinion concerning the times of Origen, Tertullian, Irenæus, &c. should at least weigh in their minds the consequence that follows from this very thing that is granted concerning the practice of infant baptism, viz. that it can be plainly traced up to St. Cyprian's time. The force and weight of the consequence or argument from thence does not lie, as Mr. Gale would represent, that it began in that time; but since it was not used from the beginning, we ought not to use it; but it lies thus: That which we can plainly trace so far up, we have all reason to think was from the beginning.

We are now at above 1600 years distance from the time that all the apostles had left the world; of these 1600, 1450 are granted and yielded. Not to mention now the improbable things which the deniers of it are forced to say, to stave off the evidence for 100 farther up. [The books are not genuine, — such a part of the chapter is interpolated, — they, by infants, do not mean as we do, — the translations are not right; which is the plea that the papists use when we urge to them texts of Scripture, &c.]; but to speak of the time that is yielded.

Of the 1600, the first 200 (which, with 100 years of apostolic times, make the three first centuries) are owned by all learned men of all persuasions, to have been the most pure, both in doctrine and practice. They that except against the canons, the councils, the customs since Constantine's time (when the empire turning Christian, the riches of the world came into the church, and, by degrees, corrupted it) as not so safely to be relied on, do yet extol the purity of the three first centuries (*i. e.* the time of Christ and the apostles, and 200 years more) when there was no temptation from the love of the world to warp mens' consciences.

That which depraved the church, when it did come to be depraved, was the same place-hunting that has since depraved and ruined every particular church and

state too, that has been ruined, and will do more; but, in the times we speak of, there was no place worth standing for, but that of a martyr, to make a glorious end of a life which would have been, as St. Paul says, *if in this life only they had hoped in Christ, the most miserable.*

Now, the times of St. Cyprian, which are yielded were far within that space, and in the midst of the persecution. He himself, at the head of his people, and multitudes of them with him, and after him (as many of them had done before him) gave up their lives as a sacrifice to the testimony of the truth of our holy religion; — butchered by the cruelty of their Heathen governors in their hatred to the Christian name and doctrine, which they saw did, by the constancy of such men, increase, in spite of all their opposition.

These were the men whom Mr. Gale represents to you as the dull Africans; and these were the times which he, at p. 541, would have you comprehend under the name of *the more corrupt centuries*. If you were to read this holy martyr's learned works and pious letters, you would be sufficiently angry with your advocate, for styling (as he does, p. 529) the letter he there speaks of (which to read would be for your better information) *a trifling and empty reply*.

Honest men that have, or think they have, an honest cause, hate to have it defended by pleas that are not true. He tells you in the next words (p. 529) that they used infant baptism, "perhaps only as an indifferent thing, or in cases of danger." I desire no other judge than one of yourselves to see, by reading the place itself, where they speak of the necessity of it in terms as high and higher than we do now, if that be not as directly false a representation of it as can be given by any man of any thing. He has undertaken to defend you: I desire you to defend him, if you can; and if you cannot, you know what you ought to do.

Mr. Danvers himself did not say but that this place spoke of infant baptism as a thing not indifferent, but necessary and ordinary. He thought of it (as Mr. Gale

does now of Origen's and Irenæus's sayings) that it was forged : that thought, though it be so plainly confuted that such a plea will never be used any more, might at that time be his *mistake* ; but to deny a book before one's face, to say what it does plainly say concerning the danger to the soul of an infant dying without baptism, is a thing that needs a better defence than that which saved Danvers.

Mr. Gale himself uses commonly to speak of the three first centuries as early times, and fit to be appealed to ; but here, seeing this to be fifty years within them, would have it to avail nothing, unless testimonies be brought for the same practice within the other 250 ; and though that has been done, yet he knows how to get a verdict that it has not. It is but saying so positively, and four or five times over (p. 540) " The authority of the primitive fathers, for at least 250 years, gives no countenance," &c. ; and then appealing to his *Sir* (p. 541) " You see, Sir, there is indeed nothing in whatever they advance which can, in the least, favour their opinion," &c.

But should he not mind, or could he think that you would not mind, that even this question and answer, in a meeting of sixty-six bishops, at the year after the apostles 150, concerning the baptizing of an infant before the eighth day, does carry in it an evidence for seventy or eighty years higher ? It cannot be thought but several bishops among so many, were seventy or eighty years old (which reaches up to seventy or eighty from the apostles) ; and it is plain by the discourse, that not one of them had any doubt or question of baptizing in infancy, which yet they must have had, if it had not been in use ever since they could remember, or if they themselves (such of them as were born of Christian parents) had not been baptized in infancy ; for St. Cyprian tells Fidus, that there was not one in all the number who doubted but that a child must be baptized before the eighth day, if need require ; — much less then did they doubt but that they must be baptized in infancy.

Mr. Gale would have you conceive of St. Cyprian as an obscure bishop, of no greater converse than with his Africans; but it appears, by his books and letters, that he had great correspondence and communion with the most noted churches and bishops then in the world. In all which churches his memory was also afterward honoured as of a glorious martyr.

Whereas Mr. Gale, at p. 541, would have you insist upon proofs within the first fifty years or less; if he mean other than Scripture proofs, he mocks you, and takes you for more ignorant than I hope you are. At the year of Christ 50, *i. e.* after his ascension about 17, whether any book of the New Testament was written is not certain; but for certain no other book of any Christian, of which we have any memory, nor in a long time after; and indeed very few are left, either of the apostles' times (beside their own) or of the hundred years following. The persecution and opposition against Christianity itself, hindered them from any leisure to write of any thing but the defence of the fundamentals of their religion. There is little in those few that remain about the rituals of it. Of those remains that are left, elder than St. Cyprian, I have told you what Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen do say; and have also thereunto added a quotation or two out of Clemens Alexandrinus; and do wish you could read the books yourselves.

When the world became Christian (which was chiefly in the fourth century) more books were written; and accordingly the testimonies are many, full, and undeniable. Neither does one of them speak of it as new, or as a thing that needed proof; but as of a thing supposed and ordinarily known. No council ever enacted it, or made canons to enjoin it; because no church or sect of Christians had ever denied it. On the contrary, they occasionally instance in it as a thing that had ever been.

Pelagius, who set up a sect that denied original sin, was galled with that argument of the Catholics, "Why are infants baptized for the remission of sin, if they have



not original sin? Actual sins they can have none?" — And some that aggravated this error accused him of it, as a consequence of his tenet, that he pleaded against the baptizing of infants. He declared an abhorrence of the slanderous imputation; and said they accused him of saying a thing which "he never heard any Christian, no not even any sectary, say."

If there had ever been any church in any time, or any part of the world that denied infant baptism, he must have heard of them; for he was a learned man, and had lived in the most noted churches of Europe, Asia, and Africa; and they had then but 300 years, or under 320, to look back to the time of the apostles.

These, and many such decisive evidences, were in that part of my book which Mr. Gale gives up, and cannot deny.

Now, this fourth century, in which Constantine the emperor became Christian, was none of the corrupt times of the church, nor the next century to it: I mean not to any high degree. I said before, that the world, with its pomps, coming into the church, corrupted it, by degrees, with ambition, factions, schisms, parties, &c.; but that was not done to any high degree presently. It was that fourth century that had those shining lights: — Constantine, the first Christian emperor; Eusebius, Athanasius, St. Basil, the two Gregories, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, St. Austin, &c. These Mr. Gale himself, when he quotes them, styles *Saints*: — St. Cyprian, St. Basil, St. Gregory, &c. Do you think he accounts them saints? Does he allow them to be Christians? Will he own that there was any church of Christ at that time? Would he have held communion with the church then, or any part of it?

His answer, either affirmative or negative, will fly in his face, so long as he holds that uncharitable and unchristian opinion (which he has professed in this book of his, and which was the only one he could find to confront and defeat the exhortation I gave you against separating from the church, though you thought her to be in an error in points not fundamental): I mean his opi-

nien and assertion that Pædobaptism is a *fundamental* error in the constitution of a church; — that the age and manner of receiving baptism are of the essence of it; — that baptism, so given as the Pædobaptists give it, not only is blameable in its circumstances, but becomes no baptism; — that persons so baptized are not true members of the Christian church, have no baptism, — no title to church-membership, but should be disclaimed, — no more to be communicated with than one would communicate with persons he cannot esteem baptized. These positions he maintains (p. 77, 78, &c. to 84); and without any shame or modesty, pretends that I supposed all of them to be right; and he intimates worse, and speaks them as far as he dare, that the Church of England has “no bishops, presbyters,” &c.

Now I say, a man holding these desperately uncharitable positions, could not have held communion with the church of the time we were speaking of; for in all that time, by all the footsteps found in reading the numerous books then published, there is no appearance of any church, nay, not of any sect, but what were Pædobaptists.

I know you generally do not hold so uncharitable a tenet (but only he, and some few); if you did, I would never advise you to come to church, nor any church to receive you.

St. Paul, when he spoke (2 Thess. ii) of the *falling away*, or degeneracy (*ἀποστασία*) that should come in the church, or greatest part thereof, said, there was something that did then *let* or *withhold*, i. e. put a stop to the coming of that *apostasy*, and to the *revealing of that man of sin, who should sit as God in the temple of God*, i. e. in the church which he should defile; and he said that *which did then let, would let until it were taken out of the way*; and that they knew what it was, for he had told them, when he was present with them; that is, he had told them in private, — it being not a thing fitting to be published; for it was the power of the Roman empire, of the destruction of which, or its being *taken out of the way*, it was not proper for St.

Paul at that time publicly to speak or write; but it came abroad among the Christians, afterwards, and they knew what it was that he had told the Thessalonians; Christians, viz. that when the Roman empire should be destroyed, then *that wicked should be revealed*, &c.

Now, that empire was not destroyed at once, but by degrees; and accordingly some modern divines have placed the beginning of the apostasy sooner, some later; but none so soon as the end of the fourth century; in which (or before which) lived all the fathers that do civil speaking so fully and plainly of infant baptism; that Mr. Gale yields St. Cyprian (who lived in the middle of the third century) and all downward.

Some did of late, with great assurance of their skill in computing the history of the prophecies, fix the beginning of the apostatical time about the middle of the fifth century, viz. at the year 455 or 456; but most readers of Scripture did then think even that date to be by many years too soon. (for the Scripture does not for every decay of the church impute apostasy, or falling away to it; but then when the corruption becomes so gangrenous, and the Roman empire held a considerable degree of power, even in Italy, to a much later date) and now they themselves may see their own mistake; for it was by their hypothesis to last but 1260 years (which with the 456, make 1716) and then a great advancement to resurrection of true religion and of Christ's kingdom was to begin; which he that thinks to be now, or does not see that Christendom is yet in the drags of the turbaned racy, does not know what religion or Christ's kingdom is; but none, as I said, did ever conceive it to have the gap during the fourth century.

I mention these things to you for this reason. That you (who, perhaps, may not be disappointed with the character of the Christians that lived in the adverse ages of centuries of the church, by reading the books and histories of each century) may be able, by such general accounts as lie open to all readers of Scripture, to understand that the centuries which are quoted (and which Mr. Gale yields) were not within the space of that falling

away; but were times, wherein the true spirit and genius of Christian religion and piety did continue to a degree, to which we may wish we could see any thing equal in our times; and that consequently, you may perceive that not only those that have told you that infant baptism began but of late under such or such a Pope of Rome; but also Mr. Gale, who insinuates to you that it began in the *corrupt centuries*, do abuse you. *all bold*

*ii* You perceive and intend that I speak now only of the time that he yields; from St. Cyprian and downward; and not that there is evidence, both from Scripture and from the older fathers (such as may satisfy any impartial inquirer) of its being from the beginning. *to this point*

*iii* Suffer me to advise you of one thing; wherein the writers against infant baptism take advantage of your incapacity to read the ancient Christian authors; your solemn protestations are some of the fathers, *to wit*, and their books that are lost, have not happened to be any thing about the baptizing of infants; others having not been any dispute about that in their times; and yet they have, perhaps occasion by reason of the frequent baptisms of adults, to hold then, to speak of the sacrament of baptism in general; and when they do so speak of it as a general, it is common with them to mention faith, and (which is purpose) of amendment of life, &c. as necessary for those who are by that sacrament entered into the Christian covenant; so that his neglect not to notice them (now) is usual with the Antipædabaptist writers to collect a number of these sayings concerning the necessity of faith, &c. as there are thousands of them. These of the said writers who are cautious not to discover the weakness of their plea, pick them out of such fathers as will. *to this point*

Secondly there is not any mention of the case of infants; and they would have an unlearned man conclude from thence that those fathers must have thought baptism of infants impracticable; because they do, in those general sentences, speak of faith and repentance as requisite to baptism; and yet to shew us of necessity as *to this point*

*iv* Now, all such arguings do shew to be inconclusive by this one observation; viz. that those fathers who were

uncontestedly Pædobaptists, and in whose time the practice is notoriously known, do, when they speak of baptism in general, speak in the same language, and insist upon the same qualifications.

A learned friend has sent me a collection of several such sayings of such fathers as the Antipædobaptists themselves do own to have practised infant baptism; and advised me to let you see some of them.

St. Cyprian, who lived in the 150th year after the apostles, is now well known to the Antipædobaptists as one maintaining the doctrine of Pædobaptism; and yet he, when he is discoursing of baptism in general, has sentences concerning the necessity of faith, repentance, &c. to baptism, as positive as can be found in any father whatsoever.

As for example, *Epist. 75, Ed. Oxon.*

“Qui cum Noe in arca non fuerunt, non tantum purgati per aquam non sunt, sed statim diluvio illo perierunt. Sic et omnes quicunque in ecclesia cum Christo non sunt, foris peribunt, nisi ad unicum et salutare ecclesiæ sacramentum per pœnitentiam convertantur.”

‘They who were not with Noah in the ark, obtained no purgation or cleansing by the water, but even perished by that flood; so also ~~whoever~~ they are that are not with Christ in the church, will perish as men out of it, unless they do come *with repentance* to that only salutary sacrament of the church.’

Here one of the writers I mentioned would, from the universality of this sentence, *whoever they are*, have concluded that no person whatsoever was, in Cyprian’s judgment, capable of that sacrament of baptism without repentance, if we had not otherwise known his sentiment concerning infants being baptized, from those places of his books where he treats particularly of their case.

The like use they would make of his 70th epistle, where he is speaking of the interrogations made at

baptism, "Dost thou believe?" &c. if he had happened never to write any thing concerning the baptism of infants.

Greg. Nyssen lived in those times and places, when and where the Antipædobaptists themselves now do not deny that infant baptism was in use, viz. more than 400 years after St. Cyprian. He mentions faith and prayer among the things that complete the sacrament of baptism. *Orat. Catechet.* c. 33.

Εὐχὴ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ χάριτος ἁρπίας ἐπικλήσις, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ πίστις ἐστὶ δι' ὧν τὸ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως πληρεῖται μυστήριον. 'Prayer to God, and the imploring of the heavenly grace, and the water, and faith, are the things that make up the sacrament of regeneration.'

St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, St. Austin himself, when they speak of baptism in general, use sayings like to these; yet we are sure, from other places in their books, that they understood the case of infants to be a particular and excepted case; and that they were to be baptized, though they had not at present those qualifications; but that they were by baptism dedicated to that religion which would teach them, and which did require of them these conditions, as they grew up.

And I gave in my book (part 2, chap. i) a pattern of two sayings: one of St. Basil, and one of St. Hierom; which, if we were not sure of the contrary, might make one think that they were Antipædobaptists, viz. a place where St. Basil says "One must believe first, and then be sealed with baptism." St. Hierom says of the apostles, That they first taught the nations, and then baptized them; "for it cannot be that the body do receive the sacrament of baptism, unless the soul have before received the true faith;" and the Catechism of the Church of England speaks at the same rate: — "There is required of persons to be baptized faith and repentance;" yet it is known that all these knew and allowed of the baptizing of infants.

And, therefore, when we meet with such sayings in the book of some other father, who, perhaps, has not occasion, in any part of his book, to speak of the case

of infants, yet we have no sufficient reason from such sayings of his to conclude his meaning to be that they should not be baptized, any more than it can be concluded from the like sayings of St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, &c.

Mr. Danvers, and some other Antipædobaptists, that have made it their business to collect great numbers of quotations from the fathers, have, if they aimed at convincing men from thence that those fathers were against the baptizing of infants, done very imprudently to set down, among the rest, such sayings of St. Austin, and others who are known Pædobaptists, because these betrayed the mistake of the sense which they would have put on all the rest.

This answer may satisfy the doubts of some who have been staggered by such quotations; and might have satisfied Mr. Gale of the invalidity of that argument which he brought from such a saying of Dionysius, of Alexandria, which I a little before rehearsed.

As to the other dispute, concerning the *manner* of administering baptism, into which he has dragged me, by putting my name into that part of his book, I need not do as he does, recapitulate what I have said; for he himself has given up your plea, so far as it makes immersion *absolutely* necessary. "Dipping (he says) it must be. The word *baptize*, necessarily signifies that;" but he cannot maintain that sense of the word to be constant, not even in his own instances, but by yielding that, if *any part* of the thing be covered with water (it is no matter whether put into the water, or the water put over that) the thing is dipped; and he instances, by dipping the nib of a pen in ink, the pen is dipped; which will justify, not only the sprinklers, but him that should baptize by putting the tip of the person's finger in water: a thing reproachful to baptism, both in your sense and ours; and which if I had said, I should be ashamed ever to shew my face in any dispute about baptism.

If I do address to my brethren of the clergy, I ought to do it as to them, from whom it is fitter for me

to receive advice than give any to them; but as it has happened to be my lot to spend a good deal of that time, which they do much better employ in thinking, talking, reading, and writing about this matter, I would humbly hope that a few words of the result of my thoughts concerning the question, and the schism raised upon it, and the way to heal it, or prevent its spreading, may not be unkindly taken.

I am clearly of opinion, that it was not any scruple or offence taken at the baptizing persons in infancy that raised this schism; as that has been from the beginning in our church and in all churches, — the unity and satisfaction of all people in it, from the beginning till of late, is a proof that it must be some new thing at which the offence was taken. There has no novelty or alteration, that I know of, in the point of baptism, been brought into our church, but in the *way* or *manner* of administering it. The way that is now ordinarily used we cannot deny to have been a novelty, brought into this church by those that had learned it in Germany, or at Geneva; and they were not contented to follow the example of pouring a quantity of water (which had there been introduced instead of immersion); but improved it, (if I may so abuse that word) from pouring to sprinkling, that it might have as little resemblance of the ancient way of baptizing as possible.

It is that, I verily believe, that has given the occasion; and by all the search that I have been able, in discourse with the vulgar people, to make into the grounds of the dissatisfaction which they have conceived concerning their baptism received in the church in their infancy, the main hinge has turned, not upon the time, but the manner of its administration. Mr. Gale (as well as the rest of their writers) seems to have been sensible of this; and, therefore, though he entitled his book *Reflections* on mine, which had not meddled (or but in a few lines) with the *manner* of baptism, he sought his advantage by drawing in, by head and shoulders, a dispute about that, wherein he knew that the examples of Scripture and other antiquity, and the



full persuasion of that people, and of all the *eastern* church to this day, is on his side; and I had the disadvantage to plead for a way of baptism, of which the best I could say was, That it is sufficient for the essence of baptism; but could not deny the other (except in the case of danger of health) to be the fittest.

The solemnity of the circumstances in the administration of baptism (as also of the other sacrament) does very powerfully strike and affect the mind of any devout Christian that sees it administered. The baptism of an infant cannot have all the solemnity which that of an adult person may have. The previous fasting and prayer, the penitent confessions, the zeal, humility, and deep affection of the receiver may be visible there, which cannot be in the case of an infant; but for that very reason we ought not to deprive the administration of this sacrament to infants of any solemnity of which it is capable.

The immersion of the person (whether infant or adult) in the posture of one that is buried and raised up again, is much more solemn, and expresses the design of the sacrament, and the mystery of the spiritual washing much better than pouring a small quantity of water on the face; and that pouring of water is much better than sprinkling, or dropping a drop of water on it. If it be done in the church, in or at the font, and the congregation do join in the prayers there used, it is much more solemn than in a bed-chamber, out of a bason, or pipkin, a tea-cup, or a punch-bowl; and a bed-chamber is, perhaps, not quite so scandalous as a kitchen or stable, — to which, things look as if they would bring it at last.

These innovations and alterations for the worse, these *vilipendiums* of the holy sacrament, shewn and used in the baptizing of infants, I take to have been the occasions of the disgust and dissatisfaction conceived by the people concerning the baptism they had received in infancy, and to have given rise to the schism of the Antipædobaptists (which never spread much in England till these abuses were notorious) and to be to this day

causes of the growth of it; and, consequently, that the reforming of them would be, by God's grace, a good and likely means for the healing of it; and we have reason to give God thanks that the present Orders and Rubrics of our church are all calculated for the reforming of these abuses, and preserving the dignity of this holy sacrament; and that there wants nothing but the due execution of them, and our conscientious performing of that which we all solemnly promised before God and the bishop, when we had the charge of souls committed to us, "That we would conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by law established."

That excellent Liturgy orders the priest (and accordingly he is bound in conscience) that (if the Godfathers and Godmothers shall certify to him that the child may well endure it) he do dip it in the water discreetly and warily, &c. I know that they are generally of late very backward in certifying this, or consenting to it; but that is nothing but an ill custom. Many of them are satisfied that the dipping or bathing a child in water has no such danger to the health as has been pretended; but they are unwilling to do otherwise than has of late been done. A few examples of the old Scripture-way would cure this prejudice; and the curates of parishes, as on one side they are no fit judges of the strength or weakness of the child, and so must not do this against the parents or Godfathers will,—so, on the other side, might, if they would, much influence the godly people to consent to it. I do not say that any one curate (if all round about him do shew a contrary temper and inclination) can do much in it; but the joint endeavours of any competent number in a neighbourhood, having both such plain truth, the Liturgy, and all ancient practice on their side, would easily convince the people that *that* which all our fathers in this island practised, till a few years ago, without any damage to their children's health, cannot be impracticable now.

I propose this not for the case of such children as are weaker than ordinary, but only in the case of such as have as good a degree of strength to bear it as

children ordinarily large; and having spoken my sense of this matter to my brethren more largely above, at the end of my answer to Mr. Gale's fifth chapter, will not trouble them with repetition.

To those who use sprinkling instead of dipping, or even of pouring water (which last is objected by our church, even in the weakest child's case) I would humbly represent the consideration of the duty of obedience which they owe not only to the rules of the church to which they have promised to conform, but also and chiefly to your Saviour himself, whose word of command is *Baptism*. I wish they would study the notion and emphasis of that word. We are forced to some pains in defence of our practice against those who pretend that it does necessarily and absolutely include dipping in its signification. I think we must not, and cannot deny that it includes *washing* in its signification. They will do well to consider whether they shall be able to justify before our Saviour that a drop, or a sprinkle or two of water, can be so fairly understood as to be a *washing* of the person in this sense as pouring water is. I know that it may be justified in Mr. Gale's sense of the word *baptize*; as a pen, he says, is dipped, if the nib of it be dipped. I hope none of the church will think fit to use such quibbles in a serious and sacred thing. Suppose that such a washing by sprinkling, or a drop be sufficient in case of some necessity that may happen (as I hope it is) shall we thereupon, in ordinary cases, go as near to the breaking of Christ's command as possibly we can? *Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?*

I know that some midwives and nurses do, on the christening-day (which they think is observed, not so much for the sacrament itself as for their shewing their pride, art, and finery) dress the child's head so, that the face of it being hid deep under the lace and trimming which stands up high on each side, the minister cannot come at the face to pour water on it, so as that it may run off again; but what water he pours will run in among the head-clothes (which really is likely to do

the child more hurt than dipping would have done); but he must make them remedy this inconvenience; and give them to understand that if they will have their children baptized, they must bring them in such a dress as to be capable of it.

Concerning the other abuse of this sacrament, the administering it in private houses, bed-chambers, &c. to children that are well, I spoke my sense in my book, in the notes I made on St. Austin's account of the devout people coming to church with their sick children, that were in danger of death, to have them speedily baptized. I have this more to lay to the conscience of those my brethren of the clergy, that use themselves to give these bed-chamber baptisms, that they would consider both the profanation and indignity they bring on Christ's sacrament, and also how directly contrary their practise is to the Liturgy, which they are obliged in duty and by solemn promise to conform to. The Liturgy appoints two several offices for baptism of infants in two several cases: — One more solemn for public baptism, to be used nowhere but in the church; to which all children that are in an ordinary state of health are to be brought; — the other to be used in houses, in cases of necessity, and not else; and these are very different (not different baptisms, but have different circumstances) one from the other.

Now, for any clergyman that is under the obligation of conscience I spoke of, to take one of these (that of public baptism) and use it in houses, is plainly contrary to the said obligation; and some of the prayers so misapplied become absurd and ridiculous. For example, The minister, standing at the font in the church, is to say that prayer, "Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to thee by our office and ministry," &c. Can he think that *that* *here* is applicable to this parlour or bed-chamber? Is it not scandalous so to apply it? or, Has he any authority to omit or alter the form?

The profanation and indignity in general on this sacrament, on occasion of this house-baptism, is so notorious, that I do appeal to the experience and common

ence of all that use it, if they themselves be not scandalized at the indecent circumstances that do almost always attend it. All the regard is commonly given to the preparations for eating and drinking; — very little to the sacrament. Very few of the company join in the prayers; but only in the feasting and carnal jollity, which is too often carried on to such excess, as is more likely to bring a curse than a blessing upon the whole undertaking. This is commonly yet worse, when it is in an alehouse or other lewd house. Those who in such cases are chosen for Godfathers and Godmothers, are generally persons ignorant of the terms of the baptismal covenant themselves; and when they should make answer in the name of the child to the holy interrogatories, they neither mind the substance of the thing asked, nor do know what answer is fit to make; but do only, in a ridiculous manner, give a bow, a courtesy, or a nod, and that often not without apparent signs of mockery; and they frequently shew a very vain, irreverent, and wanton behaviour before, and in, and after the sacred administration. Is not this enough to turn the stomach of any serious Christian that is present? — and if they reflect with themselves, and think “Is this the way that I was baptized in?” — to occasion, perhaps, their falling into the error we are speaking of, and resolving to be baptized again? Can a minister of Christ take any comfort? — or can he think that the dignity of the holy office which he is performing is preserved in such a management?

In all parishes where baptism at the church is generally left off, the people are so ignorant of what is to be done and said at baptism (many of the young people having hardly ever been present at one) that if a child be brought to church to be baptized, neither are the congregation sensible of their duty of joining in the prayers, nor do the Godfathers know what answer they are to make; but there are holy questions publicly put without any one to answer; which, however it passes in a bed-chamber, is a great scandal and absurdity when a sacrament is administering in a Christian congrega-

tion; and when the young people of such a parish come to the curate to be prepared for confirmation, they are found to have but a slender apprehension of what was stipulated in their name at baptism (which is the chief thing that should make them capable of confirmation) because, though they have learned the words in the Catechism, yet having never seen the thing transacted, they have not near so lively an idea of the holy covenant: but where baptisms are duly administered in the church in the time of divine service, all the congregation do both learn to understand the office of a Godfather, and it is usually performed with such decent seriousness as the nature of the thing requires; and the whole congregation (as St. Austin expresses it) of the saints [or good Christians] does this office of offering the infant to God for the receiving of the spiritual grace; and there is also that more momentous advantage (with which, as with one of the reasons why baptism should always, if possible, be administered in the sight of the people, our church does enforce the command) that every man present is put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his baptism.

No serious Christian that has considered these advantages would have his child miss of them, nor would have him baptized in that disadvantageous way if the minister would. If any man desire baptism for his child that is well, and yet has so little value for it that he thinks it too much, and refuses to bring him to the right and proper place of receiving it; what I might do for the sake of the child (who, as Nazianzen says, is not in the fault) is a question by itself; but if the man himself had not yet been baptized, and did ask it with such an irreligious coldness, and insisting on such haughty terms, I am sure I would not give it him (of what degree soever he were, from an emperor to a beggar) but let him keep his pride with his heathenism, for it agrees very ill with Christianity.

In the primitive times, if any Heathen man, high or low, noble or ignoble, would turn Christian, and be

baptized, the Christians did not admit it to be done privately; he must, some time before the baptism, come into a full congregation of Christians, and there, standing up in a place in the church provided for that purpose, openly repeat the Christian Creed, and declare his owning of it. Some that had been in repute, and in great stations among the Heathens, were ashamed to do this; but the Christians would not believe him to be sincere till he did it. Our Christian ancestors in England, though they had in large parishes chapels and oratories for the ease of such as lived remote from the mother-church, for hearing God's word, and praying, &c. yet none of them would lose the privilege of receiving the communion, and of having this other sacrament of baptism conferred on their children in the mother-church to which they would bring their children, though it were a long journey, to be baptized by dipping in the font. And do we, their degenerate offspring, turn not only the font into a bason, but also this mother-church into a bed-chamber?

I know that if any curate of a parish do insist upon having all children of rich and poor that are in health brought to church, and do refuse to shew the respect (so those ignorant half Christians call it) of bringing the sacrament to their houses, and do plead the Rubric and order of the church in his own vindication, he shall in some parishes of haughty, rude, and ill-bred people meet with a great deal of obloquy; and, among other things, they will object to him not only the example of such or such a neighbour-curate who complies in this matter, but also that such or such a one of those that are in the highest station in the church does many times shew that condescension which he refuses to do; and we must blush that such things can be said, and we cannot deny them. But every one in the holy orders ought to reckon his commission to be received from Christ; and under Christ, from that church in which, and by whose rules and canons he is called and sent; and not to follow the example of any particular man or men, in

how great station soever, in things wherein they deviate from that which should be their rule as well as ours.

What must be done, or can be done, in places where Presbyterians lie in wait to draw people from the church into separations, and do offer their service to any capricious man or woman, that if the parish curate will not baptize their child at home, they will, is more than I am able to determine; it must be left to the bishop of the place to direct which of the two evils must be chosen. I have been credibly informed that the late pious bishop of London found it necessary to advise his clergy in the city to comply in this matter with their people, rather than let them fall into the hands of those seducers; but that in his visitation in the country places he advised them to keep steady to the Rubric. Certainly those leaders of the separation will have a good load of guilt, who neither will reform abuses among their own followers, nor suffer us to do it among our people. These are the men who, when the church made an order for private baptism of children in danger of speedy death, did so clamour against it, that one of them said it was unlawful, even though the child was to be damned for want of baptism. I know that many of the parochial clergy do wish and desire that the bishops would in open court, and in the audience of the people, lay a strict charge upon them not to baptize any child that is well in a house; because otherwise, the people are apt to tell the curate that he might do this if he would; and endeavour to bring the more envy upon him for refusing.

There is one thing which I am loth to speak of, that some of the clergy are thought by some people to use this compliance for their own sordid gain, and for the sake of the present which is given to the baptizer for submitting the sacrament, and his own holy office to the humour of some irreligious parents. St. Paul speaks of some who did *keep ale-house with God's word*, that is his phrase (2 Cor. ii. 17) *καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*, sell it, prostitute it, in the same sense as authors use the word *καπηλεύειν τὴν δίκην*; or *τὴν εἰρήνην*, 'to sell jus-



tice,' or, 'sell a peace' as (κέρηλος) an ale house-keeper sells his ale. God Almighty keep us from doing this with his sacrament; it is more than enough; it is to a dreadful degree too much that benefices, places, offices; and promotions in the church are trucked. If we can keep any thing unprostituted, it should be God's word and his sacraments. St. James shews the mischief of having any respect of persons, rich and poor, in concerns of religion. It will certainly have the same effect there which Solomon says it has everywhere where it is admitted. *To have respect of persons is not good* (he means it is a very mischievous thing) *for a piece of bread that man will transgress.* These clergymen (if there be any such, for I own I know of none, only there runs in some people's discourses such a censure) do every Lord's Day say that prayer, *That God would give grace to all bishops and curates, rightly and duly to administer his holy sacraments.* They pray this for themselves among the rest; they should not by undue administrations defeat their own prayers.

I could wish also that the usual feasts at christenings, and the customary presents then given by the Godfathers, &c. were left off, and that the clergy would persuade their parishioners to leave them off. They may very well be called *Nehushtan*. How innocently or commendably soever for a sign of spiritual congratulation they were first used as they are used now, they bring more disgrace than credit to the sacrament; beside the sinful excesses too common, they do, like the popish ceremonies, swallow up all the regard that should be given to the substance of the sacrament itself. They are also the cause of the difficulty of procuring Godfathers to poor people's children.

The sum of what I would propose to the consideration of my brethren and of all pious members of our church on this head is, That whatsoever brings a discredit, a contempt, an indignity, or profanation on the sacrament, as it is administered to infants, does help to increase the doubts of those who are inclined to be dissatisfied with their baptism received in infancy, and so is

an occasion of promoting the schism; and should be reformed on our side.

Another thing that I think useful for any of the clergy whose ill fortune it is to be under a necessity of being concerned with any of their people in this question is, that they make a difference between three sorts of Antipædobaptists; for there is a different sort of management fit to be used toward them.

Some few of them do still continue to hold communion with the established church in the public prayers and in the other sacrament; and in this too as far as is consistent with their opinion, *i. e.* when their children are adult, and desire baptism, they advise them to receive it in the church at the hands of the lawful minister. They are sensible that whatever becomes of the question of Pædobaptism, schism is certainly a great sin. I did in my book give my thoughts (but professing to submit them to the judgment of those who are over us in the Lord) that such men, though in a mistake in that one opinion, should be received as brethren; and that as they do not excommunicate us, so we should not them; and that in this case, where there is no difference in the fundamentals of the faith, nor any self-willed spirit of opposition, that rule of St. Paul does hold (Phil. iii. 15) *If in any thing ye be otherwise minded [i. e. of different opinions] God shall reveal even this unto you; nevertheless, whereto we have already attained [or in things wherein we agree] let us walk by the same rule; let us be unanimous.* These men give a good proof that they have not that self-willed spirit of opposition that I spoke of, by this, That they do not run into the separation; for that is a thing which all proud, self-conceited persons love above all things; and it is for the sake of that (that they may have the honour and pride of setting up, or keeping up a party by themselves) that most of them do value the opinions for which they stickle. St. Paul says *There must be sects [or heresies] in a church, that they which are approved may be made manifest, or distinguished from the rest.* He means, I think, that the sects will take off all the proud, self-con-

ceited, schismatically disposed people; and that he that is not drawn away with this temptation, does so far approve himself a solid, humble, and good Christian; and we may add this particular, That he that withstands that temptation in England may be ventured, anywhere; for there is no place in the world where Christianity is more (or, if I except one, that shall be all) in which the sinfulness of schism is so little considered, or the encouragements and temptations to it so great. These men, therefore, even where they err, are to be thought to act in the sincerity of their heart; and there is a very different deportment due toward such from that which is to be used to wilful opposers. The determining of the question whether they shall be continued in communion, will belong chiefly to the bishop of the place (if ever it please God that the discipline and authority of the church be restored), and not to those of my brethren to whom I pretend to offer this my advice; but the bishop himself will regard the character of the men, which the parochial clergy shall give.

I do not mean that they ought to be flattered by any one that has the cure of their souls, as one of late with his new divinity flatters them, and all erroneous Christians, that whatever their errors in religion be, *propter* they be sincere in the choice of their tenets, and judge as well as they can, and practise accordingly: they are then, (though in an error) in as good case as those that hold the very truth according to the real meaning of Christ in the Scripture, and practise accordingly; or, as he expresses it, and calls it a *demonstration*, that wherever the sincerity is equal, it must have equal effect in justifying the person.

Such an untheological opinion (that ignorance, error, or excuse, not only a *tantum*, but a *forte*) will make St. Paul (who always lived in all good conscience, and in those many things which he did contrary to the name of Jesus, was sincere, and did what he verily thought with himself he ought to do) to have been as blameless and as much justified in that opposition to Christianity as he was in holding the truth afterward. This makes

is Socinian, a Quaker, a Papist, and, for aught I can see, a Turk, if they be sincere, to be in as good case as the most orthodox Christian.

The Antipedobaptist himself, of whom I am speaking, will not, if he be a man of tolerable sense and understanding, accept of comfort to his conscience on such a ground as this, which will justify the Quaker in the denial of all baptism, as soon as him in the denial of it to his children under age; and the other Antipedobaptists who make a schism for their opinion, as soon as him who owns and desires to keep the communion of

All that I would say to represent such a man as fit to be admitted to communion is, First, That his error about the time or age of giving baptism is not a fundamental one; and, Secondly, That he does not make a schism for it; and, Thirdly, That he is much more likely to have his erroneous opinion rectified by his continuing in the unity of the church; and we have much more encouragement to take pains with him while he does so, than we have if he were to separate from it.

The first English Antipedobaptists that made any considerable number were of this sort. They held communion with the Presbyterians (for it was in their reign that they sprung up) and the Presbyterians did not reject them from communion, though they wrote and laboured eagerly against their tenet; and I believe that a total breach of communion had never been made had it not been for a wicked contrivance and malicious circumstance of those times, which I wish had been peculiar to them.

There was then a sort of Atheistical state politicians and military officers (that aimed at the ruin of church and state, and effected it) who were not willing that the doctrine, or discipline, or authority of any church at all, should bear any great sway; and they could be for their turn; and, therefore, as they had encouraged the Presbyterians (who formerly, under the name of Puritans, had lived in communion with the Church of England) to separate from it, and fight against it; and had suffi-

ciently weakened all the authority of that; so now, not meaning that the Presbyterian discipline should have power enough, or regard enough among the people, to check or thwart their impious designs any more than the other had been able to do, they set up and encouraged all the dissenting parties of men they could against that establishment too, and, amongst the rest, the Antipædobaptists.

The dissenting of these men was not enough for their turn; they must separate, and set up one church against another, if they would have any place of advantage in the state or the army. If they would do that, they were capable of being captains, colonels, major-generals, &c. Too many of the Antipædobaptists went into the separation; the honestest and most sincere and judicious of them (and particularly Mr. Tombs) protested and remonstrated against their doing so; and continued in communion with the established church. The few that, as I said, do now continue with us are of that stamp.

The contrivance and aim that I spoke of to weaken and frustrate any church authority was carried on in those times upon a very different principle from that which has been made use of for the same purpose since. As for the authority of the church to censure, judge, and, if need be, excommunicate men for heretical and blasphemous tenets published, as well as for immoral actions committed, I do not remember that any sect then denied it; but each sect assumed it to themselves; the Presbyterians and Antipædobaptists as high as any. This served the purpose of the men I spoke of as well then, as the new hypothesis does now; for if forty churches in a nation do oppose and slight each other's censures and authority, a libertine, a Deist, and enricher of himself by the spoils of the public, a Socinian, &c. is as safe as if no church at all had that power; and the old way was the more artificial, and did not nigh so plainly contradict the Scripture as they do who deny that Christ ever gave such power at all; when it is notorious, and seen in Scripture by all the sectaries themselves that he did.

The abounding of sects was a thing very much for their turn then; but they had not then, as I remember, any advocate who recommended this as a desirable thing; and that they were all of them well pleasing to God; but every party owned (what is indeed plain in Scripture) that there ought to be no divisions, and so counted all the rest blameable except their own.

Such of us clergymen as are old enough to have any memory of those confusions, have been apt to comfort ourselves with hopes that we should not leave the Church of England in worse case than we found it; and yet it recovered out of that. But really they startle us when they talk of making the Church of Christ only a number, without any cohesion, government, or discipline; for that is a higher degree of debasing it, and tends more directly to the dissolving of it than any of the pretences of those men, who always confessed it to be a body or society, or, as the article expresses it, a congregation, which required union in the parts, and a subordination of some members to others. The mischief then was, that each of their several composures pretended to be that body with an exclusion of almost all others.

This sort of Antipædobaptists which I am now speaking of were commendable then, for that, however they dissented in this particular tenet, they would not be carried by any of those ignorant, rash, and selfish leaders into that dreadful extremity of separation which is of far greater guilt than the error itself; and since they could see through all the hypocritical pretences of the seducers of those times, they may, I hope, be trusted with scanning the present scheme made for division, which has a cover of godliness a great deal thinner, and more transparent than those had; and, indeed, seems calculated, not for catching scrupulous or tender consciences, but for encouraging sceptics, Deists, &c. or those that aim to get money by their separating.

To Antipædobaptists of this temper, the curate of a parish should, I think, carry himself as to candid dissenters; and as they still own themselves of his flock,

and preserve in most parts of religion a Christian brotherhood with the rest of his parishioners, and do continue to give him any opportunity of applying what proofs, reasons, and arguments he is able for their satisfaction, he ought to do it in the most mild and friendly way; and, if at last he fail of success, yet to hope that our blessed Saviour, who has severely threatened those that break the unity of his body, will more easily pardon a sincere though erroneous member of it.

Secondly, Of those Antipædobaptists that do separate, all are not of one sort; for some, and those far the greatest number, have, even in their separation, so much of Christianity, modesty, and charity left, as to take and own the Church of England, and other Protestant Pædobaptist Churches, to be Christians, and not to want any essential or fundamental requisites of a Christian Church.

I quoted some of the most noted Antipædobaptists that have been in England, Mr. Tombs declaring an abhorrence of those that carried the dispute to unchristian extremities. Mr. Stennet calling it a reproach cast on the Antipædobaptists, That they judge none of the true church, but those of their own way; and, more than that, the public confessions and declarations of the hundred churches, as they style themselves, professing their consent with other Protestants in all the fundamental articles of Christian religion; and, that all persons throughout the world, professing the faith, &c. not destroying their profession by any errors averting the foundation, &c. are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God. These are, for general principles, sounder than some lately vented by one or two that profess themselves of our church.

It is true they do, for all this, continue in actual separation. I do not mean Mr. Tombs did; but most of these present subscribers to the Confession which I mentioned, do. What reason they have to give, or how, after such declarations, they do endeavour to justify their separation, I know not; if I had *had* the good fortune

to have had my book answered by one of those instead of Mr. Gale, I must have known their ground. He would not say a word concerning that Confession, or concerning the declarations of Mr. Tombs or Mr. Stennet.

I did once propose the question to Mr. Stennet, How they did count it consistent with such declarations to renounce communion? He answered, That they should not refuse to admit a Pædobaptist against whom they had no other objection to their communion. I remember he was pleased to instance in me; so that he must mean one that had no other baptism but in infancy and by pouring water. There was not then time (for we were just parting) for the question that ought to have followed next, Why, if they could admit us if we came to their assemblies, they might not with as good conscience come and communicate (in the prayers and the other sacrament) at ours? And I never after had an opportunity before his death to renew the conversation.

It must be either that they hold something in which they must join in our prayers, or way of worship, or of communicating, to be sinful, or that it is sinful in them to be present at the baptizing of an infant, though they do not join in those particular prayers; or else, that those who have different opinions in things not fundamental, must set up several communions or churches; which last is a very mistaken notion, has done unspeakable mischief in hindering many sorts of Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, &c. from communicating with the national churches where Providence has placed them; and will, if it be followed, propagate divisions *in infinitum*; and yet, to our shame, is encouraged even in some of our own pulpits.

This sort of Antipædobaptists, though they separate themselves from us, yet do it not upon so uncharitable a principle, nor do shew so obstinate a temper, but that there may be some hopes of reducing them to a right sentiment either of the essentials of the sacrament of baptism, or at least of the article of the *communion of saints*; and hopes that pains spent with them in conversing, discoursing, arguing, and recommending books



to them, may not be in vain; which pains should be taken and used with them in all patience and meekness so long, till they appear incorrigible in their schism.

Thirdly, There is another sort who do not only separate from but rail at our church, clergy, and people, and all other Protestants, as being either no Christians (as many of them do shew their real sentiment to be) or no church; having no bishops, no Christian Presbyters, no sacraments, &c.; as you see Mr. Gale and that sort do broadly intimate their censure.

There are, God be thanked, but few of them so far gone in the spirit of uncharitableness; they that are, deserve to be thought as far from Christianity as they censure all others to be. He that excommunicates all Christendom, except himself and so very few, does stand *ipso facto* excommunicated from them whom he so renounces. As Firmilianus told Stephen, bishop of Rome, that by excommunicating so many as he did, all that he got was, that he had cut himself off from so many churches of Christ. Whatever becomes of the questions of baptism, he that has lost charity has lost his Christianity.

I do not say but that some pains of admonishing should be used even with these; but I think such a temper of obstinacy, arrogance, and censorious self-conceit to be that very disposition which St. Paul meant by the name of *Heresy*, when he ordered Titus, that such men he should, *after the first and second admonition, reject*. *Aipsos* does grammatically signify that temper; and I believe St. Paul took it in that sense at that place.

I have known some of the other sorts recovered, but none ever of this; none, I mean, of such as were quite gone off from us, and herded with them, and had imbibed that censorious spirit with which they infect one another. Many that were wavering and half-way seduced have been reclaimed.

Any of my brethren that shall have occasion, or think it necessary to write any thing in this controversy, may comfort themselves that they cannot have worse luck than I have had. I set myself to speak of the Antipa-

dobaptists in the civilest language I could; the answerer represents me as a spiteful slanderer of them; picks up personal stories of my actions nothing to the purpose; pretends to publish a character of me; runs from one end of my book to the other to single out passages upon which he thinks he can declaim; faces down the world that I have said things there which I never said: as, that there is no proof of infant baptism from Scripture; gives very insulting and reproachful language, &c. I fancy they will not employ him again; but do rather hope they will call him to account for using, in the defence of their cause, affirmations of matters of fact which are not true.

My opinion was, that there needed no answer to his book; some very worthy men thought that, for the sake of the people, it might be needful. I told them they must then think of some younger man fitter to bear the fatigue of writing books; and I thought for a long time that *that* course had been taken, and depended upon it. It came, however, to be devolved on me, and the English proverb made good, *Wear out the old one first*. The reader that sees the imperfection of the performance must consider the defects of age.

I thank God who has enabled me to come to the end of it a little (God knows how little) before the end of my life; for I have been apprehensive of dying in a circumstance, in which Archbishop Tillotson somewhere says, 'None would be willing to be surprized with death, viz. in the midst of a controversy, or reeking hot from one.'

I would not have any one that shall write flatter himself that they will let him have the last word, with what strength and evidence soever he write. I have some particular reasons to be satisfied that some monied men among them both have, and will again if need be, contribute largely to keep the press at work; in which case reasons and answers will never be wanting to authors.

There is, while I am writing this presage, a new instance given of the incessant attempts of their preachers to write against any thing that is said for their convic-

tion, whether they have any thing rational in argument, or true in fact, to oppose to it or not.

One Mr. Davye, of Leicester, in a book called *The Baptism of Adult Believers only*, &c., undertakes to shew that there have been Antipædobaptists in every age of the church, from Christ's and the apostles' time till now; which, if he can do, he shall be the champion of their cause.

He saw this to be needful, because (as he observes) Christ's Church must have had a being in all ages; from which the true conclusion being, since many ages have been without ever an Antipædobaptist, there must have been in all those ages a true church of Pædobaptists; he, not liking this conclusion, labours, in spite of all history, to find some Antipædobaptists in all the several ages.

This he declares in his Preface to be the thing which he is largest on, and labours chiefly to make out. He does, however, treat of the arguments from Scripture, but owns they have been so fully and nicely compassed, that they are come to their *ne plus ultra* in matter of argument; and as he does not pretend, so he has not on that head any thing but what has been often considered. I shall pass most of that by: what he wishes to discourse of is their antiquity.

And for the first 200 years (*i. e.* after the apostles an hundred) of which there are few books left, he depends upon the failure of proof given by the Pædobaptists for the baptizing of infants, and the testimonies of Scripture concerning adult persons baptized, that there was then no infant baptism, all were Antipædobaptists, and says (p. 52) that there is nothing of it to be found in the writings of St. Barnabas, Clem. Romanus, Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, or Theophilus Antiochenus. In Tertullian's time, about the latter end of the second century, it began to appear, &c.

For all this, I suppose, he depends upon Mr. Gale, or some others of them. He himself would begin, where Mr. Gale ends, at the time of St. Cyprian; and there being for his time and the following (of which there is

plenty of books) full and ample proof of infant baptism, he undertakes, however, to find some in every age that opposed it.

If there had been any such thing to be found, it would have been found before now by some learned men that they have had.

Mr. Tombs reckons St. Cyprian's time to be the spring-head (as he calls it) of infant baptism; and St. Austin's authority in after-times carried it almost without controul; and all the pretences of proof that any one then, or for many centuries after, did oppose it, have been shewn to be gross mistakes. It could not be St. Austin's authority that carried it, because St. Austin says he never knew nor heard of any that denied that infants are baptized for forgiveness of sins; and Pelagius, who lived at the same time, owns that he never heard of any that denied it to be given.

But, as to its obtaining universally, Mr. Tombs need not have put in the word *almost*; for during 700 years after St. Austin, there is, in all the numerous books then written, no account of any church, any sect, any author, any Christian that rejected it, nor none before Austin but Tertullian.

Mr. Davye, after a slight attempt of expounding some words in a canon of the Council of Neocæsarea to the purpose of Antipædobaptism (which have been fully shewed to be impertinent to it) and having recited some words of Balsamon's comment on it (but leaving out those in the same paragraph that speak directly of infant baptism) seeks for proofs on his side amongst the heretics of the following times, the Novatians, the Donatists, and the Pelagians.

He had before told his readers (p. 4) that one main part of the controversy between those sects on the one side, and St. Cyprian and St. Austin, &c. on the other side, was concerning infant baptism: and whereas every one must wonder how he could venture to say this, after that Mr. Danvers had been so shamed for pretending to proofs of it, and after it had appeared upon a diligent canvassing, that they never had one word of dis-

ference about that matter, he proves it there no otherwise than by saying "I cannot but believe it was so;" and so he says afterward (p. 50) "To me it is apparent;" — but here he runs out into argument.

At p. 9, 10, He reckons up several mischiefs of infant baptism; one is, That by this practice so many human inventions have been invented; among which he reckons Chrism and Unction as two, and says, None of which we read of in primitive antiquity for the first 300 years at least after Christ.

To such a writer there needs no other weapons but his own to overthrow him; for if Chrism be one of the consequents of infant baptism, who is there so ignorant as not to know that *that* was in use long before the times he speaks of!

He says there, the argument for infant baptism from circumcision, was not insisted on by those called Ancient Fathers; and though he might have instanced in some of them who indeed do not mention its succeeding circumcision, he unluckily picks out for his only instances St. Cyprian and St. Austin, who are known to have mentioned it; but he says it was not insisted on by them for aught he finds: — that salves all.

P. 15. He grants that infants were church members under the pædagoggy of Moses, and (p. 16) that they were brought to the ordinance of the passover as soon as they were capable to eat it; and (p. 17) that, under the Gospel, infants dying (he means all infants dying) are in the covenant of grace; and ten lines after, says, Where faith, repentance, &c. are wanting in the recipients, there cannot be right church membership, nor can they be in the covenant of grace, let men pretend what they please; and (p. 16) that the New Testament Church is wholly of a new frame; that we are not concerned now with what was done under the Old Testament; forgetting that St. Paul tells the Gentile Christians that the *blessing of Abraham is come on them*, and that they who were of the wild olive tree, are grafted among the natural branches.

Here in ten pages he disputes against the Independ-

ents; and it is pretty to see how they confute one another. He concludes with quotations from Bishop Burnet, Dr. Whitby, *Continuers of Pool's Annotations, Assembly's Annotations, &c.*; and, what is most ridiculous, he quotes here, and in twenty places more, *Bishop Taylor's Liberty of Prophecy*: a book written in Oliver's time, to puzzle the schismatics then in power, by shewing that even the Papists and Anabaptists had as much to say for themselves as they had, and produced their arguments, which himself shewed afterward to have no solidity in them.

Chap. II. To disprove the Jewish baptism of proselytes, he transcribes Mr. Gale and (what Mr. Gale thought not fit to do since the place has been examined) Sir Norton Knatchbul; and (not knowing who speaks for him and who against him) *Godwyn's Moses and Aaron*, which plainly asserts this custom of the Jews; and says (p. 37) that he cannot understand, if the custom had been to baptize proselytes, why the Pharisees should ask John why he baptized Jews.

On Matt. xix. 14, and 1 Cor. vii. 14, he brings over again some of the most trite pleas which the Antipædobaptists have used in their descants on those texts.

There is nothing else in this chapter, but that he catches hold of that subtle and airy distinction of fundamentals which Mr. Gale, I think, has invented for them, whereby to justify their separation from the Protestant Churches, with whom they would yet seem to agree in all fundamental points of faith. It is a device which I see takes with them. He manages it (p. 47) to this purpose.

"There are some things or doctrines which, though they are not fundamental points of religion, or necessary to salvation, are yet fundamental, or essentially necessary, to the constitution of a church; and here we say Baptism is fundamental or essentially necessary."

And he says "Baptism of infants by sprinkling [and I suppose he would say by pouring water, or even dipping of them] is indeed no baptism; and, therefore, though we honour them [the Protestants] as brethren,

love them as children of God and believers, &c., yet we cannot join with them in a church-state."

They seem to have had some cue given them, by somebody, that separate they must, or else they do nothing to the purpose; and they strive for far-fetched pleas to justify their so doing. As for this new invented one, it is the emptiest that ever was used to justify so great a sin and wickedness.

It appears, on the first weighing it, that any defect in baptism, if it does not hinder any single person from being a *Christian*, does not hinder a body of such as have that defect, from being a *church*. If a man be once a *Christian*, there is no new use of baptism to make him a priest (or, as they call it, an *Elder*) or to make him a bishop; — so that if they were a number of *Christians* before (which a new preacher would have to be the definition of a church) they may, without any new trial of the validity of their baptism, have church officers, and be a church in the sense of that word which is acknowledged by all.

This author manages this argument a great deal more weakly than Mr. Gale himself did. He says (p. 48) "It is proved by Heb. vi. 1, 2, 3, and Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, that baptism is fundamental to church communion and to the constitution of a church." What those texts do speak of baptism, tends to shew its necessity for one's being a *Christian*, or being saved; but they have nothing particular in reference to communion, or the constitution of a church.

And he has spoiled the whole argument by saying "We do not unchurch all other Protestant churches; — there is scarce any thing more distant from our thoughts."

Mr. Gale would not have taught him to have said so. He would have taught him to say, We do not *unchristian* them, or deny their salvation; but *unchurch* them we must, or else we cannot justify our separation, which is the main point of all.

The third chapter has (beside the common pleas

which have been answered an hundred times) nothing new that is material, but these absurd propositions:

P. 49. That the doctrine of original sin began to be disputed *ann. Dom. 250*.

P. 50. That the Novatians (which is true) and the Donatists (which is false), were before Constantine's time. Of both of them he says, that it is *to him apparent* that they, before that time, opposed the growing errors or heresies of the times; and that the Waldenses and Albigenses sprang from the Novatians and Donatists.

P. 54. That Mr. Wall (meaning me) confesses that Justin Martyr excludes infants from being baptized, and in the church, and says that only adult persons can or ought to be baptized.

Mr. Davye had said in his Preface, that he was not conscious that he had wronged any of the authors cited. By which it appears, he does some things that he is not conscious of.

P. 57. That St. Cyprian taught that the Church of Rome was the mother church; and here he quotes Daille, observing from St. Cyprian's 59th epistle, that St. Cyprian thought the Eucharist necessary to infants for their salvation; which (as proved from that epistle) has been shewn to be Mr. Daille's oversight in reading *sacrificandum* for *sanctificandum*, — admitted to the Eucharist instead of baptized; and though Mr. Davye was told of this, yet he had rather follow the oversight than consult the place. The Eucharist was called *A Sacrifice*; but the recipients never were said to be sacrificed.

P. 58. That the Novatians and Donatists kept their distinct congregations from St. Cyprian's, because of his infant baptism. This, as to infant baptism, is as true of the Donatists who did not arise till near an hundred years after St. Cyprian was dead, as it is of the other, who in his time made a schism, but disputed not one word of infant baptism.

P. 59. Having shewn that the Novatians differed from St. Cyprian in several other things, he infers,



"From all which we have very great probability on our side, that they rejected the baptism of infants." This argument will fetch in the whole legion of heretics to be of Mr. Davy's side; for they, all of them, differed from St. Cyprian in many things.

P. 60. He cites one Gabriel Prateolus, as saying of the Novatians that they affirmed that infants did not stand in need of baptism. He that will be at the pains to search the place in Prateolus (p. 123) will know which of the two, Prateolus or Danvers, was the first that forged this on the Novatians (for Danvers once said this of them, and was soundly shamed for it) I do not think the reputation of either of them worth the pains.

From p. 61, to the end of the chapter, he pillages that chapter of my History, wherein I mentioned some moderns who have made objections against the opinion of infant baptism, being used generally or universally from the beginning; — many of whom answered their own objections, or recanted them; but Mr. Davye recites their objections, and omits their answers, and so brings in Dr. Hammond and Mr. Baxter among the Antipædobaptists; and Bishop Taylor, who declared what he wrote to have been only some objections easy to be answered; and Bishop Barlow, who had in his youth, in a letter to Mr. Tombs, said some things of the ancient history, which being without his knowledge printed long after, he recanted, as having been written in the time of his ignorance; yet Mr. Davye reprints the letter at large, but not the recantation, though he saw them both together in my book; and having recited out of Mr. Stennet a saying of one Vansleb, concerning the ancient practice used at Alexandria, which has nothing of probability in it, nor is confirmed by any ancient historian, he, to put some mark of antiquity on it, quotes Socrates for it (lib. 6, c. 7, 9; and lib. 7, c. 7) meaning, I suppose, Socrates the historian; but he might as well have cited Socrates the philosopher: one says no more of any such matter than the other; and this is Mr. Davye's way.

Chapter iv. He enters upon his task of bringing proofs that the Donatists were Antipædobaptists; and having first premised, what I mentioned before, concerning the Council of Neocæsarea and Balsamon, and coming to speak of his Donatists he makes several gross mistakes of their tenets about other matters, as that they rejected Chrism, &c. (p. 65); and then asserts, of their tenets concerning infant baptism, things absolutely false; as that they held that infants *needed not to be baptized* (p. 66): he quotes Vincentius (who held only that infants who had missed of baptism, might yet, by God's mercy, be saved) as an Antipædobaptist. He says (p. 67) "That Fulgentius, the Donatist, and Cresconius denied infant baptism, and asserted only *that baptism*, which is after faith, as saith the Magdeburgensian History. Augustine also, in his Epistle to Marcellus, writes against them for denying baptism to infants;"—, and many other such strange things, copied, I think, mostly out of Danvers.

Now, there is not one word of all this true; neither, St. Austin nor the Magdeburgenses have one syllable of what he here quotes from them. St. Austin has no epistle written to any one of that name; and Mr. Davy has given me the trouble of reading all his Epistles to Marcellinus; in all which he has nothing about the Donatists, save that in one or two of them he entreats Marcellinus (the emperor's commissioner) in his court of judicature, to abate of the rigour of the law against some of them that were convicted of sedition, outrage, and murder, that the church might have the repute of moderation. Of their tenets about baptism not one word.

If these proofs will not do, he demands proofs of the other side from us, that the Donatists were for infant baptism. Several of us, and I for one, gave proofs from the councils of that time, and other evidences, to which he has nothing to oppose.

P. 69. He would however get the Pelagians of his side. He owns that St. Austin speaks of them as allowing and practising infant baptism, though they denied

original sin; but he says "I cannot help hesitating a little about it;" — and because they said that an infant, dying unbaptized, may have an eternal life somewhere, though not in the kingdom of Heaven (into which, as they confessed, no infants, but baptized ones, could enter) he thinks "It can hardly be believed they were for infant baptism."

and He concludes a little more modestly, that if what he says of Pelagius be not a proof, it must be allowed for a strong probability; and says "For my own part, I believe he and his followers were for believers' baptism only." — So the bell chinketh.

P. 70. He questions whether Pelagius's Creed, and Celestius's *Confessio Fidei*, of which I gave copies out of St. Austin, be genuine — and, what is worse, says it may be questioned by my Confession. They were authentic pieces sent or given by them in their own defence to the Bishops of Rome. No man can suppose, even if he thought St. Austin to be a forger, that he would forge or misrecite public records kept at Rome.

P. 71. He would prove from some canons or synodical epistles of the Councils of Carthage and Milevis, anno 416, directed against the Pelagians, that the Pelagians, or some people of that time, opposed the baptism of infants; because those canons do, as he says, anathematize some that did oppose it.

Now, there wants nothing but the reading of the canons and epistles, by any one that can read them, to see that they do not speak of any that opposed it; but only of some that thought it must not be given to *new-born* infants before the eighth day; and of some others [viz. the Pelagians] who denied that any original sin derived from Adam was forgiven to infants in it.

P. 72: He says Those against whom these canons were made must have held, that infants, though unbaptized, might enter into the kingdom of Heaven.

The distinction the Pelagians made between an eternal life somewhere and the kingdom of Heaven, is beyond Mr. Davye's skill. They held that infants who missed of baptism, might have an *eternal* life somewhere,

they knew not where, as being without sin; but that baptized infants did enter into the kingdom of Heaven, as being not only without sin, but also regenerated in Christ.

P. 75. For the following centuries, he finds that the Council of Gerunda decreed, that infants newly born, if sick, or not able to suck the breast, should be baptized, though it were not Easter-time. Would any one but he conclude from hence, that either the bishops of that council, or any one else of that time, denied that they were to be baptized at all?

Another synod Mr. Davye has found quoted—

The Bracaraensian Synod, in the *seventh* century, condemned the errors of the Manichees and Priscillianists. Now, Cassander says that, in the *twelfth* century, in Bernard's time, arose the Albigenses, who, to the rest of their errors, borrowed from the Manichees and Priscillianists, added this, That the baptism of little ones is unprofitable:

From hence this notable arguer concludes that there were Antipædobaptists in the *seventh* century; whereas the proof is only of the *twelfth*, when some people holding some ancienter errors, added to them this of Antipædobaptism.

Chapter v, p. 77. Having renewed that absurd pretence of Mr. Danvers, that the Old Britons denied infant baptism, and quoted nothing for it, but that edition of Fabian, which Danvers had lighted on (wherein the misprinting of three words makes all the mistake) he concludes, p. 81,

“If all this will not be allowed for proof, I must let my opposers enjoy their contrary opinions: it is not much material; yet I must tell the reader, these considerations weigh with *me*, to make *me* believe these Britons were really for believers' baptism only.”

It is an advantage to have a faculty of believing what one will, with reason or without.

P. 81. For an evidence in the ninth century, he is not ashamed to bring upon the stage again, that blunder which Mr. Danvers made in the story of Hincmarus,

Bishop of Laudun, which has been exposed even to ridicule; and finding in Danvers's book the *Bibl. Patr.* and the *Magdeburgenses* quoted for things not there to be found, he copies the quotations just as they were in Danvers.

A thing that he did not think of here, but argues at large in his recapitulation, at p. 122; and says he cannot omit it, is a manifest instance of his venturing to affirm confidently matters of fact which he only guesses at, and which are not true. He observes that I, in my Preface, do say that St. Austin has whole books against the Pelagians, wherein he proves the doctrine of original sin from the practice of infant baptism.

Mr. Davye positively asserts the contrary, viz. that *from* the doctrine of original sin in infants, St. Austin infers the necessity of their baptism; and says "His works do plainly shew this to every reader;" and, that mine is a wrong construction of them; and, that he "vehemently in several places condemns the Pelagians for suffering infants to die without baptism."

Could any man, in a thing that had been true, and which he had read himself, have expressed a greater confidence than he does in this which is notoriously untrue? Every man that has read any thing of St. Austin against the Pelagians (if it were only those places which I quoted, which are not the hundredth part) must see with his own eyes that St. Austin all along, and many times over, speaks of the Pelagians as owning and practising infant baptism; and argues with them, that the custom used by the whole church and by themselves, of baptizing infants, ought to convince them that they have original sin, which needs to be washed away.

Mr. Davye says this is not a *congruous* way of arguing, nor to reason with them like men of sense. "Is not (says he) the same argument used against us now? — and do not the Pædobaptists argue *from* original sin *to* the necessity of infant baptism?" The other is a thwarting way of arguing, and very unlikely.

But, good Mr. Davye, if there be something which may be seen with one's own eyes, by any one that will

be at the pains to go and see it; and some do go and see it, for you to sit at home, and guess by *congruities* and *likelihoods*, how the thing must be, and not only to disbelieve them that have seen it, but to face them down that they give wrong accounts, is to take too great a liberty to yourself. What will become of your credit, even with your own party, if these books of St. Austin should be translated into English? — or if any of them be able to read them in Latin? The Pædobaptists do indeed argue with you from your confession of original sin, to convince you of the necessity of baptism to infants; and good reason, because you do (many of you) *own* the former, but *deny* the latter. St. Austin argues with the Pelagians, from their confession of infant baptism, to convince them of the doctrine of original sin, with the like congruity on the other side; because they (not some, but all of them) did *own* infant baptism, but deny original sin; and whereas you say here, that he “vehemently, in several places,” condemns them for suffering infants to die without baptism, — bring one of those places, or else take shame to yourself; and never meddle any more in matters of antiquity, which you understand not. In the mean while you may read, if you please, the places that I have brought in my History (part 1, chap. xix); where you will find Pelagius, Celestius, and Julian owning the necessity of infant baptism (not for the cure of original sin from Adam indeed, but for entering the kingdom of Heaven) and some of them anathematizing any that should deny it, if there were any such; but they say they never heard of any that did. One of them says he never knew any one *so ignorant*, or *so impious*, as to say, or to have a thought, that infants are not to be baptized. Another allots an *eternal anathema* to any one that should say it is not *necessary* for infants; and see if you can find me misquoting or misrepresenting the words of my author in any of those places: — a course too common with you.

You go upon congruities. When you, at one place, insinuate of St. Austin that he forged those Confessions of the Pelagians, wherein they own infant baptism, do

you think that *congruous*, that the same man should represent them as owning it, and yet vehemently condemn them as disowning it?

P. 83. Mr. Davye comes at last to the twelfth century, the time of the Waldenses and Albigenses. Some of the latter (viz. the Petrobrusians) did indeed (and, among others, have shewn) deny baptism to infants, the first body of people in the world that we read of that did so.

After all, I know not how it happens, but I cannot be very angry with Mr. Davye. A man that writes in such a fashion as can do nobody any hurt (because he discovers at the very first sight that he has no skill in the things he talks of, nor has taken any care of the truth of his quotations) does not near so much provoke one's indignation as one that, in a more plausible and cautious manner, perverts the truth. A reader is apt to make allowances for the temper of a man, his incapacity, and his open way.

*Hunc ego fatis . . . . . Impeto, qui vultu morbum incessaque fatetur.*

Mr. Gale spoke of somebody that should answer my book. Was it Mr. Davye? Was he to account for the times after St. Cyprian with as much success as the others had done for those before? It may seem so; for he concludes (p. 140) as Mr. Gale uses to do: "All which, I think, has been made apparent in the preceding treatise; which may be a sufficient answer to, and to the historical part of Mr. Wall's book of infant baptism."

I crave pardon of my brethren, the clergy, for inserting this digression about Mr. Davye's book (which is just come to my hand, and which I am satisfied they will never read over) in the address I was making to them. It is to convince them of what I was saying; that if any of them do write in this cause, the Antipædobaptists will never suffer him to have the last word; for if such an answer as this can find one that

will print it, and men that will buy and read it, the Antipedobaptists will never want authors.

I crave leave to go on with a few words to the clergy.

I hope those that shall write in defence of infant baptism, will not drop, or suffer to sink, the argument from antiquity, now that we have carried it so far, and produced plain evidence of its use among Christians, from authors so nigh the apostles' time.

There are, beside the time spent in arguing, disputing, and talking, each man for his side of a question (in which eagerness seldom suffers men to weigh things soberly and impartially; but there are, I say, beside these) times, in which every serious man considers the reasons and proofs of things by himself. Now a man that does this, will see it impossible to be conceived that, in a practice so public and notorious as baptism is, they whose fathers or grandfathers lived in the apostles' time, should not know what was done in that time, as to this matter.

The testimonies so far up, as to 150 years after that time, they do now yield and own; and make, I think, but very weak opposition against those which are brought from authors within the hundred. They that have formerly been told by their leaders, that the baptizing of infants began under such or such a Pope of Rome, will see things with another view, when, in following the plain footsteps of it, they come not only up to Constantine's time, but do pass or shoot the Gulph, as I may call it, that is between that and the age of Martyrs; and can trace it there as plainly as in the ages below. They yield Cyprian. I have, if I do not flatter myself, vindicated the testimonies of Origen, and of Irenæus, who was born in or about the end of the apostolic times. Higher they cannot expect to have the express mention of so particular a thing, for want of books between that and the Scripture times.

There is indeed one of our own order, one by profession of the Church of England, who has meddled



in this point, and has, to our disgrace, said in print (p. 15) "That till Cyprian's time, not but adult persons were baptized; and even in his time, baptizing of infants was very rare." One would wonder what should make him say this, or from whom he had it. He himself, I can easily guess, knows little of the matter: he has either shot his bolt blindfold, or else he has had it from somebody. It could not be his father;—he never lighted on *that* paradox. I do not think he has it from the man whose cause he is there defending. He, for a very good reason, avoids any talk of the tenets of "those weak men in several ages." Mr. Le Clerc, or any of that sort, have not said any such thing that I know of. Let me be far enough, if I do not think he has taken it on trust from Mr. Gale, and thinking it might help, among the other odd things that he has said, to do some prejudice to the Church of England, has put it in at all adventure. If I guess right, that he has learned it of Mr. Gale: he is a pregnant scholar, and has already outshot his master; for even he never ventured to say in St. Cyprian's time it was rare.

To those that shall write to enforce the argument *from Scripture*, I would humbly recommend one advice or two.

One is, That although many of the late English writers, in defence of infant baptism, have thought fit to omit the arguments from John iii. 3, 5, and from 1 Cor. vii. 14, yet they should not be discouraged from using them. A right translation and explication of the words in those two texts, would contribute much to satisfy the doubts concerning the baptizing of infants.

In explaining the sense of both of them, there is an instance how much the alteration (which happens in process of time) of the use and meaning of words in common language, does, with illiterate men, weaken the force of an argument taken from a text of Scripture or any ancient book, where words are used that have had their use so altered.

I consider who I am speaking to now; and to them I do not think it needful to say any thing concerning

the ancient meaning of the word *regenerate*, or *born again*; or of the words *saints*, or *sanctified*; whereas I and Mr. Whiston, and several others, have positively affirmed that the word *regenerate* is in the ancient phrase used constantly (or, as Mr. Whiston cautiously expresses it, *almost constantly*) in relation to baptism; and Mr. Gale has so positively denied this, that he, or else we, must be guilty of a notorious untruth, in matter of fact. I speak now to those that know, or can know when they please, by minding as they read the ancient books, where that guilt settles.

They know also how new and unheard-of in the ancient church, that interpretation of some late expositors is, who, by *water*, in John iii. 5, would have us understand not material water, but some mystical thing; such as our Saviour compared to water in his discourse with the Samaritan woman (John iv. 13, 14); and by *saints* (1 Cor. vii. 14) not Christians, or persons *christened* (which is St. Paul's constant use of the word); but *children, saints*, or *holy*, *i. e.* born holy by a holiness previous to their baptism; and by *sanctified* (when a Heathen wife is sanctified by her husband a Christian) not converted to Christianity, and brought to baptism, but the man is sanctified to his wife, *i. e.* the husband *potest bona conscientia uti infidelis conjugis vase*.

Beza, one of the first that gave that interpretation, adds, after he has said this, "This place makes against the Catabaptists" (which is his name for Antipædobaptists): it did so indeed, till he marred it by his wonderful explication; which the Antipædobaptists are so far from thinking to make against them, that they have taken it into their scheme, only improving *born holy*, *i. e.* in covenant, — into *born holy*, *i. e.* not bastards.

If those two texts were read in the ancient sense (which, I think, may be made out to be the true one) the one, *Except any one be born of water, &c. i. e.* baptized into the religion of Christ, *he cannot enter, &c.* (always understanding this to be a rule in God's ordinary way, not to limit his mercy in cases extraordinary); and the other, *An unbelieving husband has*

*been sanctified, i. e. brought to Christianity and baptism by his wife, &c. else your children would have been unclean, i. e. brought up Heathens; but now they are (ἅγιοι) saints, i. e. Christians, or christened, or dedicated to Christ by baptism, the dispute would be at an end.*

Dr. Hammond, whose treatise on this subject, in his *Six Queries*, it is adviseable for any clergyman that studies this point to read, was the first of the moderns who retrieved the sense of this latter text from the unnatural glosses of some late writers. He did it by observing what is the constant use of the word *saints* and *sanctified* in the language of the New Testament, viz. Christians. I have shewn that several antients (before there was any dispute of infant baptism) do paraphrase it just as he does; which must needs be a great confirmation.

It was, perhaps, not without reason that the Christians of the middle times left off the phrase of calling the men of their profession *Saints*; because the word was abused by some sectaries, who made an hypocritical cant of it, to distinguish themselves by; but yet, when we read any text of the New Testament, or of any ancient Christian book written while that word was in constant use, we must take the words *saints* and *sanctified*, or *made saints*, as it was used at their time, or else we lose the sense of the place.

Mr. Bingham, who, to a very good purpose, makes it his business to acquaint us with the general customs and use of words among the ancient Christians, does, in his book 1, chap. 1, p. 3 (without having any discourse or any thought at that place of infant baptism, or of this text) give us this account.

The words ἅγιοι, ἁγίοι, ἐκλεκτοί, "in ancient ecclesiastical writers, do signify, not any select number of Christians (as now the words *saints* and *elect* are often used to signify only the predestinate); but *all* Christians in general who were entered into the communion of the church by the waters of baptism; so Theodoret and others explain the word (ἅγιοι) *saints*, to be such

as were vouchsafed the honour and privilege of baptism." *Theodor. in Phil.*

It is but reasonable then to let the word have here the sense that it always had in those times; and then it will be "Now are your children vouchsafed the honour of baptism; or entered into the communion of the church by the waters of baptism."

All the difficulty is, for a minister to satisfy the vulgar people, who understand no other phrase but that of their own times, and of the common translations of the matter of fact, that this was the ancient sense of the words. They are shy of any thing that is told them more than they see in the translation, especially if they should have any writer of their side that will confidently tell them that it was not so. The word was not so used, &c.

Whether they will find any that will deny the word *saints* to be used by St. Paul for *Christians*, I know not; but I know of one that has denied things as plain and certainly true as that is, in cases where he knew they could not search the books. If there be such a necessity, they must be shewed the several places where St. Paul uses the word *saints*; which, if they read with attention, they will see by the sense of the place that it is there (as also in the Creed) put instead of the word *Christians*.

One other thing I would recommend, which will be more obviously conceived by all ordinary readers of Scripture; that is, that those who have an occasion to argue on this matter, do keep their antagonists, or any whom they would convince, close to that question or consideration, *How*, or by *what means*, or by *what merit*, or *title*, infants do even obtain the kingdom of Heaven. There is no method of arguing or of meditation, that will sooner bring an Antipædobaptist to think rightly of this matter than this, if it be well pursued in his own thoughts, or by the conduct of a Christian guide.

If he be a man at all versed in the Scripture, and in the mystery of the salvation of mankind as there taught, he will presently understand and grant that it is

by Christ, by his merits, his purchase, &c. : that there is no way by which any of the human race can come to that kingdom, but by an interest in him.

Ms. Gale indeed talks (p. 421) with great confidence of the state of all infants ; that they must needs go to Heaven, as having no actual sin, by virtue of God's general justice and mercy [“ If there be any mercy in God; &c. ; God our Saviour cannot ordain such unreasonable laws,” &c. ; and such like rants] ; but no pious and well-studied Christian, Antipedobaptist or other, will think or speak at this rate of the kingdom of Heaven as any one's natural right, or to be conferred on any, but by Christ and for his sake, by virtue of his merits and death.

They must be urged then to consider that the infants, as well as the adult, who are admitted thither, “ must be members of Christ, united to him by the Holy Spirit, included in his covenant and purchase of his fold, his kingdom, his *peculium*, his body, *fellow-heirs*,” as St. Paul expresses it, “ and of the same body, and partakers of God's promise in Christ through the Gospel, such as obtain an inheritance among them that have been sanctified” (*ἁγιασθέντες*, as the word is in both the places where that phrase is used : Acts xx. 32 ; and xxvi. 18) ; that is, among the Christians that have been baptized, — *not strangers or foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, or Christians, and of the household of God.* To say of any one That he shall enter the kingdom, is as much as to say all this of him.

These terms signify neither more nor less than being of his church, which the Scripture calls *his Body*, and him the *Saviour of the Body*. The consideration that infants are capable of being admitted to these spiritual privileges (which admission is the same in substance with that spiritual grace or favour which makes the *inward* and spiritual part of the sacrament of baptism) will easily incline any one that considers it, to believe that they are capable of the *outward* part, which is but the seal of the other. Who can forbid water to those who are capable of receiving with the water such spirit-

ual favours as well as we do; Since our Saviour has established the terms of his covenant so amply and mercifully as to include them; and to testify his love and tender regard to them, and has bid us suffer them to be brought to him, — who are we, that we should exclude them from the outward tokens of his favour, as if they did not belong to him and to his kingdom!

I wish some good man would be at the charge of an impression of a small picture, that might be given to such as need instruction and satisfaction concerning the will and purpose of our Saviour in this matter. The proverb is true, "That pictures have, with vulgar men the use of books;" especially if they represent some useful history of the Gospel, such as this which I am going to recommend is, being recited by three evangelists, Matt. xviii. 5; Mark ix. 37; Luke ix. 48. Our Saviour holding a little child in his arms, and saying to his disciples, *Whosoever shall receive this child* [in Matthew and Mark it is, *One such little child, or one of such children*] *in my name, receiveth me.*

If our Saviour be drawn in that posture, holding forth the child in his arms, and those words subscribed, *Whosoever shall receive such a child in my name, receiveth me*; and over against him be drawn two men standing by a font, both pretending to be ministers of Christ; and some people offering such a child to them, and one of them reaching out his arms to receive it, and the other thrusting it back, I would fain see what countenance the painter will give to that man who, seeing our Saviour look upon him, and hearing him say those words, does dare to reject it.

The ordinary meaning of the word *receive*, in the books of the New Testament, even when it stands alone, is well known to all readers of Scripture; to *receive*, or *admit to a brotherhood or fellowship in Christianity*; as (to name one place of forty) Rom. xv. 7, St. Paul commands those dissenters iniquitous *to receive one another.*

But when Christ does moreover add here those words, *In my name*, it more plainly still imports that they

should be received to be as *his members, his children, belonging to him*, or, as I once before deduced the import of the like phrase, as τῶ Χριστῷ ὄντες; 'being Christ's,' or 'Christians.'

And the sanction here given to the command of such a receiving of them, is the highest that is ever given,—even the same that is given to the command of *receiving* the apostles themselves; for, as it was said to them, *He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me*;—so the very same is said here of *receiving children in his name*.

The dispute is concerning a considerable part of Christ's flock; and it is Whether they shall be admitted into his fold or not? The infants of mankind, taken together with all such as are under the age at which the Antipædobaptists receive them, do make, I believe, a third part of the whole people.

Our blessed Saviour will certainly, at his coming, be *much displeased* (for he was so once upon Earth on a like occasion) either with us for *receiving* them, or else with them for *rejecting* them. It behoves us all, therefore, to mind what things displeased him here, and with such care and impartiality to study and learn his true will and meaning, and with such sincerity to follow it; and for our performance of both these things, so to implore his heavenly direction and assistance, *That when he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before him at his coming.* Amen.

## POSTSCRIPT.

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SOME of the Antipædobaptist writers do give us occasion to observe the great mischief to religion that comes by any one's forging words, and attributing them in print to any ancient father, — so great, that though the first forger should repent, and publicly recant what he has said, yet the mischief and ill consequence would continue, by ignorant men taking him at his first word, and commonly adding to it.

Justin Martyr is (a very few excepted) the eldest of the Christians whose books are left to us. He was born in the apostles' time, and wrote about forty years after it. A testimony of his is more considerable than of five or six later ones. Any words of his, that should plainly and expressly determine either *for* or *against* infant baptism, would be a more material and decisive evidence than any that has as yet been produced from antiquity on either side. The greater must the impiety be of any writer in this controversy, who should forge such decisive words in his name.

Mr. Gale, writing his *Reflections* on a passage which I had cited out of Justin's *Apology* (where he speaks of some circumstances used at the baptizing of adult converts) adds these words, in his pages 457, 458: —



"St. Justin here mentions only adult persons," and *elsewhere* plainly excludes infants from being baptized in the church," and says That *Adult persons only can, or ought to be baptized.* — This, if true, is a very positive evidence.

Mr. Davye, having mentioned the same passage of Justin, and knowing nothing to the contrary, but that what Mr. Gale had farther attributed to him might be true, recites Mr. Gale's words as if they were from his own knowledge or reading); and adds to them another forgery of *my confessing* the thing to be so, in these words, in his page 54 :—

" St. Justin mentions only adult persons, and (*elsewhere*, as Mr. Wall himself confesses) excludes infants from being baptized, and in the church ; and says That *only adult persons can, or ought to be baptized.*"

If Mr. Gale can produce no such words of St. Justin (as I am confident he cannot) and Mr. Davye can produce no such confession of mine (as I am sure he cannot) they are both of them forgers of evidences ; and it concerns not only the cause of religion and truth in general, but particularly the credit of the Antipædobaptists, that they be called to account, whether they can or not ; and if they cannot, that they be disowned, otherwise they will be worse than the papists ; for whereas some impostors formerly did, for the maintenance of Popery, forge Decretal Epistles, under the name of Bishops, as ancient as Justin Martyr, they were credited for some time ; but when the cheat came to be detected, all the honest Papists did themselves join in condemning and exposing it ; and they now disown, and are ashamed of the epistles.

I did, as I passed along, take notice of this foul dealing of both of them, at p. 155 and p. 373 of this *De-*

fence; but I had a mind to give a *memorandum* of it here by itself; because the attempt being extraordinary, and the evidence for the antiquity of Antipædobaptism far more considerable, if it be a true one, than ever was heard of, it is pity but it should be brought to light, and into a fair view. I do not know whether Mr. Davye can find the place in Justin's Works; but Mr. Gale can, if it be there.

THE END.





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